

# MODERN PHILOLOGY

Volume XLI

AUGUST 1943

Number 1

## WHAT DID ROBERT DE BORON WRITE?

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THE question I am asking indicates the uncertainty that prevails regarding Robert de Boron's authentic works. Opinions on the subject—and with the exception of Brugger's and Roach's they are mainly guesses—can be found listed in the latter's edition of the *Didot-Perceval* (pp. 116–25). It is unnecessary to rehearse them here. They center, of course, about the so-called *Didot-Perceval* (Brugger's "Der sog. Didot-Perceval" in *ZFSL*, LIII [1930], 389–460), including the question whether the final Mort Artu section (Episodes R, S, and T) is also, in the original, to be attributed to Robert's pen.

Let us first see what testimony Robert himself gives with regard to (a) what he actually wrote and (b) what he says he is planning to write. The *incipit* of MS BNf 20047, the sole manuscript extant of Robert's "Verse Joseph," reads: *Ci commence li romanz de l'estoire dou Graal*. It is in the handwriting of the scribe of the manuscript and is a satisfactory name for the entire work that Robert appears to have had in mind—not only the "Verse Joseph" (3,514 verses) but also the "Merlin" (of which 502 verses are preserved) and whatever part or parts of the "Perceval" he may have written. That, it seems to me, is the interpretation we must

place upon the lines (3489–94) of the "Joseph" which state:

A ce tens que je la retreis  
O mon seigneur Gautier en peis,  
Qui de Mont Belyal estoit,  
Unques retreite esté n'avoit  
La grant Estoire dou Graal  
Par nul homme qui fust mortal.

Robert was obsessed with the idea of the Trinity. His *roman* can have no meaning unless Bron is followed by Alein and finally by a *tierz*, who can be no other than Perceval;<sup>1</sup> see verse 3363:

Il atendra le fil sen fil,

and verses 3371 ff.:

Lors sera la senefiance  
Acomplie et la demoustrance  
De la benoite Trinité,  
Qu'avons en trois parz devisé.  
Dou tierz, ce te di je pour voir,  
Fera Jhesu Criz sen vouloir.

This prophecy is accomplished in the *Didot-Perceval* (p. 241), when Bron carries out the command of the Holy Ghost:

... et Percevaus l'a oïe molt volentiers, et tant tost fu raplenis de le grasse del saint

<sup>1</sup> See Brugger, p. 404, for the detailed argument. When Pauphilet, *Mélanges Lot*, p. 605, says "la trilogie n'existe réellement que par le *Perceval*," he is putting the cart before the horse. It is Robert, not the imagined author of the *Perceval*, who planned the trilogy. Pauphilet's article throughout gives the impression that he never delved into Robert's poem.

Esperit. Et Bron li viels bailla Perceval le  
vaissel entre ses mains.

If Robert is not the author of a verse redaction that underlay the present *Didot-Perceval*, then the author of the latter completed his work in what for the Middle Ages was a remarkably fitting manner. And, in any case, Robert's announced plan won fruition, although the extant part of his own work seems limited to the "Joseph" and a fragmentary "Merlin."

Coming now to (b), Robert is nevertheless explicit as to his plans for the completion of his poem. At the close of the "Joseph" he writes as follows:

Robertz de Beron (3461)

- Dist, se ceci savoir voulun,  
Sanz doute savoir couvenra
- (1) Conter la ou Aleins ala,  
Li fiuz Hebron, et qu'il devint,  
En queu terre aler le couvint  
Et ques oirs de lui peut issir,  
Et queu femme le peut nourrir;
- (2) Et queu vie Petrus mena,  
Qu'il devint n'en quel liu ala,  
En quel liu sera recouvrez,  
A peignes sera retrouvez;
- (3) Que Moyses est devenuz,  
Qui fu si longuement perduz,  
Trouver le couvient par reison,  
De parole ainsi le dist on;
- (4) Lau li Riches Peschierres [Bron] va,  
En quel liu il s'arrestera,  
Et celui sache ramener  
Qui orendroit s'en doit aler.

He hopes to gather (*assembler*) these four parts:

Meis je fais bien a touz savoir (3495)  
Qui cest livre vourront avoir,  
Que, se Diex me donne santé  
Et vie, bien ei volenté  
De ces parties assembler,  
Se en livre les puis trouver.  
Ausi cumme d'une partie  
Leisse que je ne retrei mie,  
Ausi couvenra il conter  
*La quinte, et les quatre oublier,*  
Tant que je puisse revenir

Au retreire plus par loisir  
Et a ceste uuevre tout par moi.

Could anybody be more precise? He enumerates the four parts that would logically follow the "Joseph": the story of Alein, that of Petrus, that of Moses, and that of the Fisher King (whom Perceval is to succeed). If he has life and health (was Robert ill at the time?), he promises to narrate these parts. But, meantime, he leaves them aside for a fifth part that he next narrates. Obviously, this is the "Merlin" which follows. And, as Brugger sees clearly, this fifth or rather sixth part (since the "Joseph" is actually Part 1) must have been chosen because it would link the history of the Grail with the Round Table, of which the son of Alein, namely, Perceval, was a member. Robert need not have been acquainted with Chrétien's *Conte del graal*, but he knew some of the stories on which Chrétien had been drawing. Doesn't he say, in mentioning the Fisher King (vs. 3456):

Dont furent puis meintes paroles  
Contees ki ne sunt pas foles?

And the care he took to fortify his background for the Grail, particularly on the symbolic side by his use of the *Gemma animae* of Honorius,<sup>2</sup> shows that he was far from being that "sec et maladroit" writer which Pauphilet considered him. I admit that his style occasionally falters, but his sense of structure—in other words, his "plot"—is superior to that of many another Old French romance.

Two further considerations with regard to Robert's plot should be noted. The first is that Bron and the Grail are to go to the West; that is, as I believe, England, though no definite locality is mentioned:

<sup>2</sup> On Honorius Augustodunensis as the standard-bearer of the new symbolic mysticism, see Ernst Kantorowicz, *Medievalia et humanistica*, I (1943), 51. See Brugger, p. 412, for a discussion of the passage on the "four parts" in the Merlin MSS, BNF 747 and BM Add. 32125. It is obvious that the scribes (or, as Brugger argues, Robert himself) are referring back to the close of the "Verse Joseph."

Par devers Occident tout droit,  
En quelque liu que il vourra  
Et lau li cuers plus le treira  
[vss. 3358-60].

On the other hand, Petrus, to whom Joseph gives the heavenly message (*le brief*, vs. 3111), is to go<sup>3</sup> to Glastonbury:

Il te dira, n'en doute nus,  
Qu'es vaus d'Avaron s'en ira  
Et en ce país demourra.  
Ces terres trestout vraiemant  
Se treient devers Occident.  
Di li lau il s'arrestera  
Le fil Alein [Perceval] atendera  
[vss. 3122-28].

And again:

Petrus dist: 'Je le sai mout bien,  
Et se ne m'en ha nus dist rien,  
Ainz ne veistes messagier  
Qui mieuz le seüst sanz nuncier.  
En la terre vers Occident  
Ki est sauvage durement,  
Es vaus d'Avaron m'en irei,  
La merci Dieu attenderei  
[vss. 3215-22].

The vaus d'Avaron are, of course, the *vallis Avalloniae justa Glastoniam* according to Higden, *Polychronicon*, verse 332, a tradition which survives into modern times in Tennyson's well-known description:

To the island-valley of Avilion;

Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard-lawns

And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea.

In short, Robert's plan amounted to this: Bron and the Grail are to go to England, where Perceval is to find them, and Perceval is also to betake himself to Glastonbury (*Avaron*) to meet Petrus.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, erroneous to say, as I do in my edition of the "Joseph," p. xlii: "il savait que le Graal devait aller à Avalon ou Glastonbury pour y être reçu par Alein." Only Petrus and the "letter" are to go there to await the coming of Perceval—not the Grail.

<sup>4</sup> I accept the following statement of the case by Roach: "It cannot be argued that Perceval was to learn the 'secret words' at Glastonbury, unless he was also to meet Bron there. There are two reasons for

But these considerations raise an important question. If the Mort Artu section (Episodes R, S, and T) mentioned above is based on the supposedly lost Perceval by Robert—that is, if it was a part of Robert's poem (and not an interpolation)—then there exists a flagrant contradiction between two parts of Robert's work, the "Joseph" and the "Perceval." As we have seen, in the former Avaron is Glastonbury; in the latter Avalon is the place—not yet identified with Glastonbury—to which, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Arthur is borne *ad sananda vulnera sua*. These very words are repeated in the Old French of MS E: "*Je me ferai porter en Avalon por mes plaies meciner*" (p. 277), and the same Avalon is mentioned in Episode H in a passage that Roach (p. 72) attributes "to the archetype of the interpolated version of Robert's Perceval." What conclusion are we to draw? I can think of only one, which is that the Mort Artu owes its presence at the end of the *Didot-Perceval* to an interpolator, who was intelligent enough to anticipate his interpolation by inserting a reference or two in the body of his text.<sup>5</sup>

this: (a) Petrus did not know the 'secret words'; they were transmitted by Joseph only to Bron (cf. vss. 3411-16 and 3419-20) after Petrus had left (cf. vs. 3390). See also Heinzel, *Grälromane*, p. 100: 'Aber das Grälgeheimnis kann er [Petrus] ihm [the son of Alain] nicht enthüllen: er weiss es selbst nicht.' (b) Although Heinzel, p. 87, believes that the letter taken by Petrus to the 'vaus d'Avaron' may have contained the 'secret words' and the information concerning the fate of Moys (cf. vss. 3132-36), the passage on which he bases his argument is obscure in the Verse Joseph (vss. 3132-36) and does not necessarily refer to the contents of the letter, but may just as well indicate what the son of Alein is to tell Petrus. This is certainly the meaning of all the MSS of the Prose Joseph: 'ne il [Petrus] ne pora aler de vie à mort devant qu'il ait celui qui son brief lira et enseignera et dira la force et la vertu de ton vaisel. Et cil qui venra li dira noveles de Moys' (Weidner 1335-37, supported by MS C [Hucher, I, 268] and MS D [Hucher, I, 327]). The prose Joseph says clearly that Perceval will come to Petrus only after he has found Moys.

<sup>5</sup> In Episode C (Roach, p. 40), where the name of Mordred has been inserted; in A (Roach, p. 303), where it is prophesied that Arthur will be the king of France and emperor of Rome; and, I suspect, in H. Pauphilet, *Mélanges Lot*, p. 610, rightly, I think, em-

And the place where he made his interpolation appears to me to be at line 1921: *Dont prist Merlins congié au roi*. It continued (if my hypothesis is correct) down to line 2661: *Et lors vint Merlins a Perceval et a Blayse son maistre et prist congié a els*. My reasons for thinking so are these: (1) The Mort Artu stands outside of Robert's avowed plan. His work was finished the moment Bron had died (*devia*) and Perceval had succeeded him. (2) Merlin himself was important to Robert, not only as a link with the Arthurian court, but also as an adviser and director of the title-hero. Blaise says to him at line 1898: "*Merlin, tu me desis que quant cis affaires seroit akievés que tu me metroies en la compagnie del Graal*." That accomplished, Merlin's role is complete except for his retirement from the world. The Esplumoir Merlin, the meaning of which I have tried to explain elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> is the logical end of the story as far as Robert is concerned.

Thus, it is clear that, as planned, Robert's work consisted of a trilogy, with six or more *parties* to it and with three Grail heroes—Bron, Alein, and Perceval. It is equally clear that we shall never know on the basis of extant documents whether or

not he ever completed it. No scholar is in the position to affirm or deny categorically that Robert wrote a *Perceval*, out of which the existing *Didot-Perceval* was constructed.

But does it really matter, so far as the unity of Robert's work is concerned? The thoroughgoing studies on the *Didot-Perceval* made respectively by Brugger and Roach set before us clearly those episodes and features of that version which harmonize with the design laid down by Robert. In addition, Roach resubmits the argument showing that Episode A must have stood at the end of the Merlin and not at the beginning of the *Perceval*. As I have said, I differ with him only in regarding the Mort Artu as a later addition or rather interpolation.<sup>7</sup> I am also of the opinion that the Enchantments of Britain are due to the illness of the Fisher King (see Brugger's elaborate note 31 in *ZFSL*, Vol. LIII), and not, as Roach proposes (p. 44), to the unsuccessful trial of the Siege Perilous. To be sure, Bron later dies and *li piere rasolda qui fendi desos Perceval* (l. 1895), but the effect of Perceval's asking the Grail question (*que on sert*, l. 1837) is the cure of the Fisher King (*mües de se nature, garis de se maladie, sains comme poissons*). Illness and enchantment, disenchantment and cure, are, I believe, concomitant ideas. If they came into the *Didot-Perceval* complex through the influence of Chrétien-Wauchier, they both originated there, and neither of them in

phasizes the ability of the *remanieur* (or interpolator): "Or cette fin des enchantements ... sera la cause immédiate des grandes guerres de France et de Rome: Artus y lancera son impatiente chevalerie pour la retenir autour de lui et l'empêcher d'aller s'évertuer ailleurs." Indeed, Pauphilet appears to have put his hand on a problem which a more thoroughgoing study than his short article could solve. The *remanieur* recast the story so that it came to have a unity of its own, in the prose form. See, e.g., p. 614: "Ces préférences, d'ailleurs, et la forme nouvelle qu'il a voulu donner au récit de la 'quête,' nous sont bien attestées par les modifications et adjonctions qu'il a faites à ses sources." And p. 616: "Désormais c'est donc dans le plan humain que doit se mouvoir le récit: plus de magie, plus d'épisodes ... mystérieux, mais une grandeur humaine, du sang, des larmes." Inasmuch as I am dealing with Robert, this problem is beyond the scope of my investigation. But, if Pauphilet is correct, then the prose version has a structure of its own, different from Robert's, in accordance, it would seem, with a more direct, realistic point of view.

<sup>6</sup> See *Speculum*, forthcoming number.

<sup>7</sup> Roach in his edition might have drawn the reader's attention to the marked linguistic traits which distinguish MSS E and D: the former has *chevaliers, jou, voltrai, cascuns, peule, aigue*, for which the latter has *chevaliers, je, voudroï, chascun, pueple, eve*. On the other hand, Brugger is careful to note (p. 402) that Robert's favorite expressions—*grace, commander, baillier, garde, liu vuit, mesprendre and mesproïson, decorir, devia, sevrer and dessevrance*—recur in the *Didot-Perceval*. But how can he assert that Robert was, "wie ich glaube, ein Anglonormanne"? Robert was a Burgundian (see *MP*, XL [1942], 113-14). Nor can I find any authority in the texts for saying "dass Avalon von avaler den Namen habe, wird nicht nur im Joseph, sondern auch im Perceval mitgeteilt."



the mind of Robert, whose Rich Fisher—as far as we know—was not ill.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Loomis, in his review of Roach, *Rom. rev.*, XXXIII (1942), 170, objects that "one of the most startling discords between the *D. P.* and the *Joseph* occurs in the Siege Perilous adventure, which Roach assigns to Robert. The *Joseph* foretells that the son of Alain will sit in the empty seat at the Grail Table; but in the *D. P.* the son of Alain sits in the empty seat at the Round Table. To discriminate between Robert and the redactor on the basis of consistency with the *Joseph* is therefore impossible." What Loomis fails to observe (see Roach, p. 37) is that in this particular instance MS E is consistent; this MS—unlike the other prose MSS—omits the word *carree* in describing the Grail Table, thus agreeing with the "Verse Joseph," vss. 2491-92. As Brugger (n. 24) pointed out: "Als Analogon zur Runden Tafel erfand er [Robert] die Graltafel; an beiden musste ein gefährlicher leerer Sitz sein." That looks "consistent" to me; the version contained in MS E (also in H) harmonizes not only

Having reached this conclusion, I believe the door is now open to take up Pauphilet's contention that the prose version, based on Robert, has a unity of its own. For it is on the prose version that the so-called Map- and Borron-Cycles of Arthurian Romance rest. But that is a problem which I must leave to others to work out.

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with itself but also with the statement that Christ established the first table, Joseph the second, and Merlin (with Uterpendragon) the third. Robert de Boron was a trinitarian; he was, as Birch-Hirschfeld realized, deeply affected by the symbolism of Honorius (see n. 2, above).

# CHAUCER'S MANUSCRIPT OF PETRARCH'S VERSION OF THE GRISELDA STORY

GERMAINE DEMPSTER

**T**HAT Chaucer used as sources of his *Clerkes tale* two versions of the Griselda story, viz., Petrarch's Latin version, *Epistolae Seniles*, XVII, 3, and an anonymous translation of it in French prose, has been established beyond contest in J. Burke Severs' scholarly work, *The literary relationships of Chaucer's "Clerkes tale."*<sup>1</sup> In order to determine which manuscript or family of manuscripts of the *Epistola* comes closest to the lost copy used by Chaucer, Mr. Severs has compared and fully collated twenty-four of the manuscripts in which that Latin version is preserved in its entirety. The present article is intended to supplement this investigation with a study of a text of the *Epistola*, known unfortunately in fragments only, viz., the text of which excerpts adding up to exactly one-eighth have been preserved in some of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury tales* as marginal glosses to the *Clerkes tale*.<sup>2</sup> It

will be shown that those glosses probably come from the manuscript which Chaucer used, or, at any rate, from one nearer to it than is any of the collated manuscripts, and that the nearest of those is CC2. From these facts, inferences will be drawn as to the main features and also some particular readings of the text used by Chaucer.

It is clear that all the *Epistola* glosses in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury tales* derive ultimately from the same copy of twenty-eight excerpts written as marginal glosses in an early copy of the *Clerkes tale*.<sup>3</sup> That early copy is lost, but there is evidence that Hengwrt, except for the omission of the gloss at E 197 and some losses where its margins have been damaged by rats, has preserved the parent-glosses in almost exact form.<sup>4</sup> The following text is accordingly that of Hengwrt, taken from the photostats of the manuscript in the Frederic Ives Carpenter Collection, with the gaps of Hengwrt filled

<sup>1</sup> (New Haven, 1942), pp. 33-37, 136-73. The book is reviewed by Robert A. Pratt in *Spec.*, XVII (1942), 577-82, by Howard R. Patch in *MLN*, LVIII (1943), 314-17, and by the present writer in *MP*, XL (1943), 285-88. For a brief exposé of Mr. Severs' main conclusions see his introduction to the critical texts of the Latin and French sources, *Sources and analogues*, pp. 288-92.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the *Epistola* glosses has been published by Furnivall from Hg and from El in the *Six-text edition*, p. 402; more accurately, from Hg, El, and Dd, by Skeat in *The eight-text edition of the "Canterbury tales"* ("Chaucer Soc.", 2d ser., Vol. XLIII); by Manly (*The text of the "Canterbury tales,"* III, 505-8), who follows El except for two corrections (*sic* added, as indicated, in the gloss to E 624, and *imitandam* corrected from *imitandi*, fourth line of gloss to E 1142) and one error (*hand* for *hanc*, first line of gloss to E 1037). The suggestion that some readings in the glosses accounted for features of the *Clerkes tale* was made by G. L. Hendrickson, *MP*, IV (1906), 188-92, and opposed by A. S. Cook, *Rom. rev.*, VIII (1917), 213-14. Manly, listing the *Epistola* glosses as possibly

by Chaucer, comments that "at any rate, the text of the Latin agrees with Chaucer in several particulars" (III, 527). Mr. Severs' only references to the glosses are on p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> El alone has the complete set of 28 glosses of which thirteen other manuscripts have from 2 to 27. That it cannot be the parent-copy is shown by several of its variants, which are absent in most of the other manuscripts. The variants and omissions in those indicate several independent lines of descent from the common ancestor.

<sup>4</sup> Hg is obviously as free from editorial variants in our glosses as Professors Manly and Rickert have found it to be in the *Canterbury tales* text. Against the several mistakes or omissions peculiar to the *Epistola* glosses of any other manuscript (there are more variants than Manly and Rickert give), Hg has only one (insignificant) variant probably not in the common ancestor.

from Ellesmere and indicated by italics as well as the one (minor) correction.<sup>5</sup> The abbreviations raised no question and were expanded silently. The references in italics are to the corresponding passages of the *Clerkes tale*; those in parentheses are to sections and lines of Mr. Severs' critical text of the *Epistola* as printed in *Sources and analogues*, pages 296-330, and in the new work, pages 254-88; they are intended to facilitate reference both to his text and to his most valuable corpus of variants.

E 44 (I 1) Est ad ytalie latus occiduum vesulus *ex appenini* (2) iugis mons altissimus qui vertice nubila<sup>6</sup> *superans* (3) liquido sese ingerit etheri mons *suapte* nobilis natura padi (4) ortu nobilissimus qui *latere* fonte lapsus exiguo orientem (5) contra solem fertur et cetera.

E 59 (11) Grata planicies.

E 58 (14) Inter cetera ad radicem (15) vesuli terra saluciarum vicis et castellis.

E 86 (26) Catervatim.

E 92 (28) Tua inquit humanitas optime marchio.

E 197 (II 1) *Ffuit haut procul a palacio et cetera.*

E 283 (34) Ut expeditis curis aliis ad *visendum*<sup>7</sup> domini sui sponsam cum (35) puellis comitibus prepararet.

E 295 (35) Quam walterus cogitabundus (36) incedens eamque compellans nomine.

E 337 (50) Et insolito tanti hospitis adventu stupidam invenit.

E 344 (51) Et patri tuo placet inquit et (52) michi ut uxor mea sis et credo idipsum tibi placeat set habeo (53) ex te querere et cetera.

E 356 (56) Sine ulla frontis aut verbi impugnatione.

<sup>5</sup> See below, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Hg had either *nubila* (Ht, Ha<sup>6</sup>) or *nubula* (Ch, Bo<sup>6</sup>), not *nebula* (El, Ad<sup>6</sup>, Ra<sup>6</sup>, Te<sup>6</sup>).

<sup>7</sup> Hg has *visendum*, but *videndum* is the reading of all the others, thus probably of their common source.

E 362 (59) Nil ego (60) unquam sciens ne dum faciam set eiam cogitabo quod (61) contra animum tuum sit nec tu aliquid facies et si me mori (62) iuseris quod moleste feram.

E 372 (65) De hinc ne quid reliquiarum (66) fortune veteris novam inferat in domum nudari eam iussit.

E 400 (79) Atque apud omnes supra fidem (80) cara et venerabilis facta est vix quod hiis ipsis qui illius (81) originem noverant persuaderi posset Ianicule natam esse (82) tantus vite tantus morum decor ea verborum gravitas (83) atque dulcedo quibus omnium animos nexu sibi magni amoris (84) astrinxerat.

E 421 (87) Sic walterus humili quidem (88) set insigni ac prospero matrimonio honestatis summa dei (89) in pace et cetera.

E 425 (90) Quodque eximiam virtutem tanta sub inopia latitantem tam (91) perspicaciter deprendisset vulgo prudentissimus habebatur.

E 428 (92) Neque vero solers sponsa muliebria tantum ac domestica set (93) ubi res posceret publica eiam subibat officia.

E 435 (93) Viro absente (94) lites patrie nobilium discordias dirimens atque componens (95) tam gravibus responsis tantaque maturitate et iudicii (96) equitate ut omnes ad salutem publicam demissam celo (97) feminam predicarent.

E 449 (III 1) *Ceperit ut fit interdum walterum cum iam ablactata esset* (2) *infantula* mirabilis *quedam quam laudabilis* (3) *eupiditas satis expertam care fidem coniugis experiendi* (4) *altius et iterum atque iterum retemplandi.*

E 498 (15) Nec verbo (16) mota, nec vultu et cetera.

E 540 (32) Suspecta viri fama suspecta facies suspecta hora suspecta (33) erat oracio.

E 603 (53) Par alacritas atque sedalitas solitum obsequium idem amor (54) nulla filie mencio.

- E 610* (IV 1) Transiverant hoc in statu anni  
4 dum ecce gravida et cetera.
- E 624* (5) Et olim ait audisti populum (6)  
meum egre nostrum ferre connubium  
et cetera.
- E 664* (25) Ffac senciam tibi placere quod  
moriar volens moriar.
- E 722* (53) Ceperit sensim<sup>8</sup> de wallero de-  
color fama crebescere.
- E 1037* (VI 39) Unum bona fide precor ac  
moneo ne hanc illis (40) aculeis agites  
quibus alteram agitasti nam quod et  
iunior et (41) delicacius nutrita est  
pati quantum ego ut reor non valeret.
- E 1142* (69) Hanc historiam stilo nunc alto  
retexere visum fuit non tamen (70)  
ideo ut matronas nostri temporis ad  
imitandam huius uxoris (71) pacien-  
ciam que michi inimitabilis videtur  
quam ut legentes (72) ad imitandam  
saltem femine constanciam excitaren-  
tur ut quod (73) hec viro suo presti-  
tit hoc prestare deo nostro audeat  
quilibet (74) ut iacobus ait apostolus  
intemptator sit malorum et (75) ipse  
neminem temptat probat tamen et  
sepe nos multis ac (76) gravibus fla-  
gellis excerceri sinit non ut animum  
nostrum sciat (77) quem scivit ante-  
quam crearemur et cetera.

In comparing texts of the *Epistola* as to closeness to Chaucer's lost manuscript, it is essential to realize that greater frequency of agreement with readings in the *Clerkes tale* is by no means a safe indication of greater closeness to its Latin source. For Chaucer, Mr. Severs has shown us, made almost constant use of a fairly good and faithful French translation of Petrarch's work.<sup>9</sup> In consequence, correspondences between the *Clerkes tale* and some manuscripts of the Latin version, if shared by that French translation, leave open the possibility that, in Chau-

cer's Latin manuscript, the passages were different or lacking. In other words, definite suggestions that Chaucer's manuscript was closer to a particular text of the *Epistola* can come only from such resemblances between the two as are not shared by the French. Correspondences fulfilling these conditions are strikingly numerous in our short glosses. They will be given in the order of the weight of their testimony, that is, of the unlikelihood of fortuitous resemblance. The correct Petrarchan text to which they must be compared is supplied by Mr. Severs' critical text, based on Vat 6, one of the best manuscripts of the most conservative family *a*. Italics indicate the words to be compared in the different versions.

- 1 *Correct Epistola text*, II, 87-89: Sic Valterius . . . summa domi in pace . . . vivebat.

*French version*: Et ainsi le marquis ... vivoit en bonne paix en sa maison.

*Gloss*: Sic Walterus . . . summa dei in pace . . . vivebat.

*Clerkes tale*, E 421-24:

Thus Walter . . .

In Goddes pees lyveth ful esily

At hoom. . . .

The gloss reading is shared by CC2 only. *Summa domini* also occurs, but only in Har 2, a member of the *d* family,<sup>10</sup> characterized by gaps certainly not in Chaucer's Latin manuscript, as Mr. Severs has convincingly shown.

- 2-4 *Correct Epistola text*, VI, 69-75: Hanc historiam stilo nunc alio retexere visum fuit, non tam ideo, ut matronas nostri temporis ad imitandam huius uxoris pacienciam, que michi vix inimitabilis videtur, quam ut legentes ad imitandam sal-

<sup>8</sup> The correct *sensim* is in EI, but the readings of the other manuscripts suggest some ambiguous abbreviation in the common source.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 25-29, 136-73

<sup>10</sup> In family *d* is preserved the early, 1373, version of Petrarch's *Griselda* story. His 1374 alterations include additions, several of which are clearly echoed in the *Clerkes tale* and could not have reached Chaucer through his French text, for that is a translation of the unrevised version (see Severs, pp. 59-62, 93-99, 102-3, 177-80).

tem femine constanciam excitarem, ut quod hec viro suo prestitit, hoc prestare Deo nostro audeant, qui licet (ut Jacobus ait Apostolus) intentator sit malorum, et ipse neminem temptet.

*French version:* Ceste hystoire est recité de la pacience de celle femme, *non pas tant seulement* que les femmes qui sont aujourd'uy je esmeuve a ensuir ycelle pacience et constance, que a paine me semble ensuivable et possible, mais aussy les lisans et oyans a ensuir et considerer au mains la constance d'icelle femme, afin que ce qu'elle souffrist pour son mortel mary, *facent et rendent a Dieu. Lequel, comme dist Saint Jaque l'Apostre, ne tempte nul. ...*

*Gloss:* See passage quoted above, p. 8, and note *alto* for *alio*, *tamen* for *tam*, and *audeat quilibet* for *audeant, qui licet*.

*Clerkes tale*, E 1142-48:

This storie is seyed, *nat for* that wyves sholde Folwen Grisilde as in humylitee,  
For it were inportable, though they wolde;  
But for that *every wight, in his degree*,  
Sholde be constant in adversitee  
As was Grisilde; therfore Petrak writeth  
This storie, which *with heigh stile* he enditeth.

2) *Stilo nunc alto*—cf. Chaucer's *with heigh stile*—is the reading of Gloss and CC2 only; one manuscript omits the adjective; all others have *alio*.

3) *Tam] tamen*: In the original text, as in the French, preaching wifely submissiveness is a purpose only secondary to the other. The express disavowal of it by Chaucer's Clerk (*nat for*) is paralleled only in Gloss and Bay 7, one of the "omitting manuscripts," i.e., a member of family *d*, to which Chaucer's manuscript certainly did not belong.

4) *Audeant, qui licet] audeat quilibet*: The singular *audeat*, and *quilibet* as subject of it,<sup>11</sup> correspond to *sholde* and *every*

<sup>11</sup> Such is the only possible function for it. Both Hg and El have after *quilibet* the sloping stroke which is their usual punctuation mark.

*wight in his degree*, and are both peculiar to Gloss and CC2.

##### 5 Proper names:

*Ianicula*: Chaucer agrees with Gloss (one occurrence, II, 81) against most manuscripts of the *Epistola* and all manuscripts of the French translation in having *u* in the third syllable while they have *o*.<sup>12</sup>

*Walter*: For this English form, not inevitable in Chaucer, who might have preferred a foreign-sounding name, the closest analogue is *Walterus*, found in Gloss, CC2, and three to five other manuscripts. The others have *Valter(i)us*, *Gualt(h)erus*, etc.; the French, *Wautier*, *Gautier*, *Watier*.

6 *Correct Epistola text*, III, 53-54: Par alacritas atque sedulitas, solitum obsequium, idem amor, *nulla tristicia*, nulla filie mencio. . . .

*French version:* Telle liesce, telle obeissance, tel service et amour, comme tousjours faisoit par avant, lui rendoit, *ne nulle tristeesce*, ne nulle mencion de sa fille. ...

*Gloss:* *nulla tristicia* omitted.

*Clerkes tale*, E 603-6:

As glad, as humble, as bisy in servyse,  
And eek in love, as she was wont to be,  
Was she to hym in every maner wyse;  
Ne of hir dogher noght a word spak she.

In taking up all the other points as listed by Petrarch and in the French version and leaving out only *nulla tristicia*, the *Clerkes tale* matches the Latin of Gloss and Bay 7 only.

To those correspondences some weaker ones add corroborative weight: the spelling of *Vesulus* with one *l*, and of *Appenini*

<sup>12</sup> Of the Latin manuscripts only Har 3 has *u* in all four occurrences of the name; two others have it in two, seven others in one. In the *Clerkes tale* the full form, which occurs in E 208 and 304, is *Ianicula* in almost all the best and earliest manuscripts (Hg, El, Ch, Ad<sup>1</sup>, Cp, Gg, Dd, etc.). The shortened form *Ianicle*, demanded by the meter at E 404 and 632, was obviously originated by Chaucer and spread from E 404 to the Latin of the gloss in El, Cn, Ma, En<sup>1</sup>, Ad<sup>1</sup>, Bo<sup>1</sup>, while the glosses of Hg, Dd, Ch, Ht, and Te<sup>1</sup> agree on *Ianicula*, certainly the form in the common source.



with two *p*'s in I, 1;<sup>13</sup> the *et* in II, 52;<sup>14</sup> the negative adjective *inimitabilis* in VI, 71.<sup>15</sup>

In providing such correspondences to features of the *Clerkes tale* not explained by Chaucer's use of the French version, the gloss text has no rival whatsoever among the collated manuscripts. CC2, which comes far ahead of all others in sharing in the gloss variants just listed, lacks several of them and also other readings certainly in Chaucer's Latin manuscript.<sup>16</sup> And the search would be vain for passages of the gloss text which, supplemented by the French version, would fail to explain features of the *Clerkes tale* which the readings of any of the collated manuscripts would explain.<sup>17</sup> If we keep this in mind while we consider the improbability that several correspondences as un-

<sup>13</sup> In the spelling of *Vesulus* and *Appenini* the *Clerkes tale* and Gloss agree together against Vat 6, though with most (*Vesulus*) or a good many (*Appenini*) of the other manuscripts of the *Epistola*. The names do not occur in the French version.

<sup>14</sup> This *et* is paralleled in two manuscripts of the French version, PN1 and PA. No other variant in the French manuscripts affects any of the features on which our argument rests.

<sup>15</sup> *Inimitabilis* is somewhat nearer to Chaucer's *inportable* (E 1144) than are *vix imitabilis* or a *peine ensuivable*, and occurs in the same sentence as the strong correspondences Nos. 2-4.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., in II, 87-88, most of the collated manuscripts (and also the gloss) read *humili quidem set insigni ac prospero matrimonio honestatis*. The underscored words, not paralleled in the French, are clearly echoed in E 421-22; CC2 omits *insigni ac* and reads *honestatus* (the correct form, but altered in many manuscripts).

<sup>17</sup> The glosses lack six of the correspondences to the *Clerkes tale* noted by Severs in manuscripts of the *Epistola*. Four of those are correct readings whose equivalents in the French version fully account for the readings in Chaucer: II, 35, *properaret* (*prepararet* in the gloss)—II, 80-81, *illam ab origine* (*illius originem*)—III, 2-3, *doctiores iudicent* omitted in the gloss—VI, 39, *te* omitted in the gloss. The other two are corrupt readings found in only one manuscript: (1) *alio villis micis*, P6 (I, 15), is listed as correspondence to *habundant of vitaille* (E 59), which, however, seems sufficiently explained by *grata planicies* and *aprica ac iocunda*, especially if the gloss, like CC2, read *apta for aprica*—(2) *muliebricia ac modestia*, Har 3 (II, 92), is listed as parallel to *wyfly humbleness* (E 429), but *hoomliness* may have been the reading of the first draft (Manly and Rickert, III, 470), and in any case *wyfly humbleness* is not an unnatural rendering of the correct Latin and the French translation.

likely to be fortuitous as our Nos. 1-4 should accidentally connect the *Clerkes tale* with the same gloss text, the shortness of the fragments in which those parallels and the corroborating ones occur, and the strong a priori likelihood of close kinship between Chaucer's source manuscript and the fragments preserved as glosses in early *Canterbury tales* manuscripts—if we consider all this, the conclusion will seem inevitable that the glosses were copied from a manuscript closer to Chaucer's lost copy than any of the collated manuscripts, if, indeed, they were not copied from Chaucer's manuscript itself. The latter seems distinctly more probable. For the glosses were first written either by Chaucer, who, of course, would use only one manuscript, or by a scribe, whose use, soon after Chaucer's death, of a manuscript sharing with that of Chaucer so many rare variants strongly suggests that the copy, along with other papers, came to him from Chaucer's own library. If it did not, the two manuscripts used by Chaucer and the glossator were very close indeed. What possibility there is of minor differences between their texts can be ignored in most of what follows.

It is already apparent that Chaucer's text of the *Epistola* was not among the purest. To form more definite ideas about that feature and several others, we need to determine the relationships of the glosses to the *Epistola* text in CC2, on which a word of introduction: CC2 is MS 275 in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It was written before 1439, probably after 1400, and probably in England.<sup>18</sup> As

<sup>18</sup> Described by Severs, p. 47, and more fully in James, *Cat. Corp. Chr.*, II, 35-38. The manuscript is a miscellaneous collection of mostly religious pieces, all in Latin. English origin is suggested by Nos. 7, 8, and 17, of certain or very probable English authorship (all in the same fifteenth-century hand as our *Epistola*), and by the presence of the manuscript at Cambridge in 1439, when it was bequeathed to Corpus Christi College by Thomas Markaunt (James, *Cat.*

shown by Mr. Severs, its very corrupt text of the *Epistola*, by virtue of few but conclusive variants, ties with the more abundantly attested subgroup *b*<sup>1</sup> (Mlb, Vat 3, Ricc), with which it constitutes family *b*,<sup>19</sup> one of the three, with *a* and *c* but not *d*, which give Petrarch's revised form (1374) of his Griselda story, as did Chaucer's manuscript. To show the relationship of this text to the gloss we shall present under four headings all the variants (i.e., all the divergences from the conservative text published by Mr. Severs) in the gloss fragments and the corresponding portions in CC2.

#### A. IDENTICAL VARIANTS IN GLOSS AND CC2

I 2 *unus*] om. Gloss, CC2 and Bay 5 only.

15 *Vesulli*] *vesuli* Gloss, CC2 and others.

II 34 *expedita*] *expeditis* Gloss, CC2 only.

35 *Tum*] *Quam* Gloss, CC2 only.

*Valterius*] *Walterus* Gloss CC2 and three manuscripts of family *d*.

50 *invenere*] *invenit* Gloss, CC2 only.

56 *repugnancia*] *impugnacione* Gloss, CC2 only. The only other variant, *repugnacione*, is peculiar to subgroup *b*<sup>1</sup>.

65 *Hinc*] *dehinc* Gloss, CC2 and others.

80 *esset*] *est* Gloss, CC2 only.

*his*] *hiis* Gloss, CC2 and others.

80-81 *illam ab origine*] *illius originem* Gloss, CC2 only.

87 *Valterius*] *Walterus* Gloss, CC2 and three manuscripts of family *d*.

88-89 *summa domi in pace*] *summa dei in pace* Gloss, CC2 only.

93 *obibat*] *subibat* Gloss, CC2 only.

94 *nobiliumque*] *nobilium* Gloss, CC2 only.

III 1 *interim*] *interdum* Gloss, CC2 only.

*Valterium*] *Walterum* Gloss, CC2 and three manuscripts of family *d*.

2-3 *doctiores indicent*] om. Gloss, CC2 and only Har 3.

IV 53 *Valterio*] *Waltero* Gloss, CC2, four manuscripts of family *d*, plus Mlb only.

VI 39 *te precor*] *precor* Gloss, CC2 and four others.

41 *enutrita*] *nutrita* Gloss, CC2 and two others.

*auguror*] *ut reor* Gloss, CC2 only.

69 *stilo nunc alio*] *stilo nunc alto* Gloss, CC2 only.

73 *audeant*] *audeat* Gloss, CC2 only.

73-74 *qui licet*] *quilibet* Gloss, CC2 only.

75 *temptet*] *temptat* Gloss, CC2 and three others.

#### B. DIFFERENT VARIANTS IN SAME PASSAGES IN GLOSS AND CC2

I 1 *Vesullus*] *vesulus* Gloss, *vosulus* CC2 only.

*Apenini*] *appenini* Gloss, *Appennini* CC2 and others.

4 *eius e latere*] *latere* Gloss, *eius latere* CC2 (*e* omitted and not replaced in Gloss and CC2 only).

II 52 *Credo id ipsum*] *et credo id ipsum* Gloss, *credo et ipsum* CC2 only (*et* in CC2 and Gloss only).

66 *inferret*] *inferat* Gloss, *inferet* CC2 (*inferret* in all other manuscripts).

VI 71 *vix imitabilis*] *inimitabilis* Gloss, *imitabilis* CC2 (*vix* omitted in Gloss, CC2, and Chig only).

72 *excitare*] *excitarentur* Gloss and P7 only, *excitare* CC2 only (no other variant).

#### C. VARIANTS IN GLOSS AGAINST CORRECT READINGS IN CC2

I 11 *planicie*] *planicies* Gloss only.

II 35 *properaret*] *prepararet* Gloss only.

80 *vixque*] *vix quod* Gloss only (no other variant).

81 *Ianicole*] *Ianicule* (*u* in Gloss and only Har 3 and Chig).

82 *erat vite*] *vite* Gloss only.

83 *ac*] *atque* Gloss only.

III 1 *Cepit*] *ceperit* Gloss only.

3 *sat*] *satis* Gloss only.

53 *sedulitas*] *sedalitas* Gloss only.

54 *nulla tristicia*] om. Gloss and Bay 7 only.

IV 53 *Ceperat*] *ceperit* Gloss only.

53-54 *crebescere*] *crebescere* Gloss and seven manuscripts of various families.

VI 69 *tam*] *tamen* Gloss and Bay 7 only.

*Corp. Chr.*, I, xi, and *Publ. of Cambr. Antiq. Soc.*, XXXII (1899), 3-4, 51, 77-78). James dates it in the fifteenth century.

<sup>19</sup> Severs, pp. 63-64 and p. 77, n. 17.

## UNCERTAIN CASES

- I 2 *nubila*] *nubila* or *nubula*  
 II 34 *visendam*] *videndum*?  
 IV 53 *sensim*] *sensim*? *sensm*? *censum*?

## D. VARIANTS IN CC2 AGAINST CORRECT READINGS IN GLOSS

- II 1 *haut*] *Hanc* CC2 only.  
 56 *aut*] *vel* CC2 only.  
 60 *etiam*] *dominam* CC2 only.  
 79 *apud*] om. CC2 and Chig only.  
 82 *ea*] *ut* CC2 only.  
 88 *insigni ac*] om. CC2 only.  
     *honestatis*] *honestatus* CC2 and others.  
 93 *viro*] *vico* CC2 only.  
 III 2 *quedam quam*] *quedam magis quam* (*magis* in only CC2, subgroup b<sup>1</sup> and Bod).  
     4 *atque iterum*] *atque* CC2 only.  
 VI 41 *pati*] om. CC2 only.  
     71 *michi*] *sibi* CC2 only.  
     72 *femine*] *feminem* CC2 only.

From the large proportion of variants peculiar to CC2 and the glosses and from the fact that almost all variants found in one of those two texts but not in the other are unique variants, it is abundantly clear that the two form a subgroup to which none of the other collated manuscripts belongs. That the glosses might derive from CC2, a possibility not entirely ruled out by the dates assigned to that manuscript and to Hg,<sup>20</sup> is impossible in view of the mistakes and omissions peculiar to CC2. Nor can CC2 derive from the manuscript from which the glossator took his excerpts, for it has the correct readings in several cases where the corruptions in the gloss fragments were certainly in the glossator's manuscript.<sup>21</sup> That manuscript and CC2

<sup>20</sup> The glosses, if not by Chaucer, may have been prepared near the end of the first decade of the century (1410 is considered the latest possible date for Hg). CC2 might accordingly be a little older (see n. 18).

<sup>21</sup> We may well regret this, for we would come closer to the text used by Chaucer if its relation to the nearest of the collated texts were an even simpler one. But the objections against deriving CC2 from the glossator's manuscript are insuperable. CC2 has the correct *tam*, *Ianicole*, *nulla tristitia*, *imitabilis*, *credo*. The

thus have a common ancestor, which we shall call  $\beta$ . With the additions dictated by those facts the stammbaum of family *b* constructed by Mr. Severs<sup>22</sup> takes the form indicated on page 13.<sup>23</sup>

The most important question which these relationships allow us to answer is: How correct was the text used by Chaucer? Mr. Severs' comparison of the manuscripts as to the number of their correspondences with the *Clerkes tale* irrespective of their presence or absence in the French version led him to the conclusion that family *a*, by far the most conservative, was closest to Chaucer's source manuscript, and one of its most correct texts, that of Vat 6, closest of all.<sup>24</sup> With this we

fact that the corrupt variants in the gloss (*tamen*, *Ianicule*, *nulla tristitia* omitted, *imitabilis*, *et credo*) are paralleled in the *Clerkes tale* (see above, pp. 9-10) entails their presence in the text from which the *Clerkes tale* and the glosses derive. For the alternative would be this: After Chaucer would have initiated shifts of sense and changes of form on those five points (nothing unlikely so far), the glossator would have made in his Latin text such changes as to bring it into conformity with the *Clerkes tale*. He could, of course, not have done this on so many points by plain accident; nor purposely, to match the *Clerkes tale* text, for he shows no tendency to edit; nor unwittingly, under influence of the English, for the coincidence would be too strange by which our five alterations, while not scribal errors of the usual type, would all seem so easily explainable as such, i.e., as due to the misreading of abbreviations and to small omissions or additions, exactly the types of mistakes illustrated by the other corrupt variants peculiar to the gloss (*vix quod* for *vizque*, *atque* for *ac*, *erat* om., *sedalitas* for *sedulitas*, etc.). On the other hand, if we think of the variants *tamen*, *Ianicule*, etc., as present in the text from which both the *Clerkes tale* and the glosses derive, all difficulties vanish.

<sup>22</sup> P. 99.

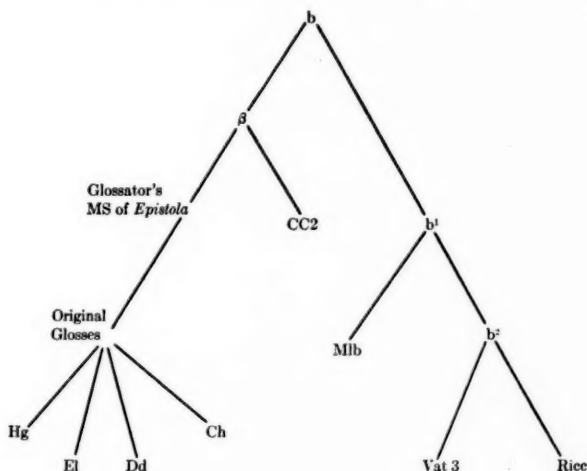
<sup>23</sup> We indicate only four *Canterbury tales* manuscripts that derive their *Epistola* glosses from the common source independently. To clear the relations of the fourteen surviving sets of glosses to one another and to their common source is not part of our subject.

<sup>24</sup> "Obviously," we read on p. 108, "the manuscript giving the highest number of Chaucerian readings and requiring the fewest emendations comes closest to being Chaucer's source manuscript." Mr. Severs' ranking of the manuscripts is based on the number of "strong correspondences" in them, but many correspondences are classed as strong which are found in the French (see, e.g., pp. 114 ff., Nos. 12, 13, 14, 23; yet others, because found in the French, are considered weakest among the weak [see p. 112 and Nos. 38-

must disagree. For we see now that Chaucer's text belonged to family *b* and was nowhere near the rather correct archetype of that family. It was probably somewhat better than CC2 in having fewer unintelligible passages, for, in the sections covered by our glosses, the errors which reveal the worst ignorance of Latin, such as *dominam* for *etiam* or *hanc* for *haut*, are peculiar to

by Chaucer and the glossator was definitely worse than  $\beta$ , whose thirty-three corrupt readings in the gloss sections suggest about  $8 \times 33 = 264$  corruptions in the *Griselda* story,<sup>27</sup> i.e., an average of three to every five lines of the text as printed in Mr. Severs' book.

Second, was Chaucer's manuscript of unilateral or of mixed descent? Some



CC2.<sup>25</sup> It may also have been a trifle better than the text of our glosses, as the glossator may be responsible for some of the mistakes peculiar to his glosses. But it is clear that he is not responsible for the majority;<sup>26</sup> in other words, the text used

gloss variants are shared by manuscripts of other families, but they are no more than one would expect in view of the large number of corrupt readings in all but the best manuscripts of family *a*.<sup>28</sup> Nor is con-

42)]. On this basis, and in view of Chaucer's frequent use of the rather close French translation, the investigation was almost certain, correctly or not, to point toward one of the best texts. A comparison based on only the correspondences not shared by the French version would have pointed to CC2.

<sup>25</sup> See the variants grouped under Secs. C and D, pp. 11-12.

<sup>26</sup> The glossator can have originated neither the correspondences to the *Clerkes tale* shared by CC2 (see stemma) nor those that CC2 lacks (see n. 21). Besides, as we cannot think that the new mistakes made between  $\beta$  and Chaucer's manuscript were all destined to be reflected in the *Clerkes tale*, that manuscript must have contained also a fair portion of the other variants peculiar to the glosses. In fact, it may

well have equaled CC2 in number of corrupt readings added to those of  $\beta$ , thus also in total number of corrupt readings.

<sup>27</sup> There is no reason to doubt that the gloss fragments give us a reliable sample of the whole. Excerpts of that length and thus scattered could hardly be misleading, and the fact can be verified that, in the collated manuscripts, the variants bear the same characters in the gloss sections as elsewhere and occur with the same frequency. CC2, for instance, has 46 variants in the gloss sections; in the whole, eight times as long, I have counted 361.

<sup>28</sup> Bay 7, for instance, agrees with the glosses on two of their correspondences with the *Clerkes tale*, *tamen* for *tam* and the omission of *nulla tristitia*; but in each case the scribal mistake is of a type illustrated in that manuscript at almost every step; and Bay 7 and the glosses have no other variants in common ex-

tamination suggested by the correspondences to the *Clerkes tale* found in various manuscripts and certainly lacking in the ancestor of the *b* family, for there is no reason to think that Chaucer's text had more of those than what would inevitably result, in very corrupt texts, from accidental coincidence.<sup>29</sup> The case is undoubtedly one of pure unilateral descent.

cept insignificant ones shared by many other manuscripts.

<sup>29</sup> Twenty-nine of the corrupt variants listed by Mr. Severs on pp. 112-18 as correspondences lacking in Vat 6 are found neither in CC2 nor in subgroup *b*<sup>1</sup>, and thus could not have come to Chaucer's source through the common ancestor *b*. The same is true of the following four: (a) I, 52, *nunquam* *nundum* CC4; (b) IV, 57, *aliquin clarus et suis carus* *clarus et suis antea satis charus* Har 3; (c) V, 30, *indignum* *tu indignum* (*rearia?*) P1, P7, Har 2; (d) VI, 46, *aliquem* *aliquam* P1, P6, P7, Laur 3, CC4, Pal, Har 2. But in most of those cases there seems to be no reason at all for postulating the presence of the correspondence in Chaucer's Latin manuscript. In Nos. 13, 23, 25, 26, 30, 34, 40, 41, and 42 the correspondences are in the French version; in Nos. 1, 21, and 38 the French has something approaching and sufficient; in No. 24 and in (c) it has a better parallel than has any Latin manuscript; in No. 37 the glosses have the passage and the best parallel. In most of the other cases—Nos. 5, 9, 10, 15, 22, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, and (a) and (b)—Chaucer's free translation brings about various new features whose resemblance with peculiarities due to scribal mistakes is no more than should, in the circumstances, be expected from accidental coincidence. In two of the remaining cases the correspondence consists in an addition of a line or two to the Petrarch text, a type of alteration from which it seems clear that Chaucer's text was free, for the glosses have no additions of any length, nor had *b* since CC2 has none. Besides, one of the two (No. 19) is an allusion to Job, most natural to medievals, and quite different in Chaucer and in CC4, the only manuscript that has it. The other, No. 20, is the remark that the Griselda type has died out. It is common to Chaucer and Bod, but is not in the *Clerkes tale* part of the conclusion derived from Petrarch (E 1142-62), but of the additional comments made by the Clerk with more than a side glance at the Wife of Bath (E 1163-76). A hint from the sources seems an entirely superfluous explanation. This leaves two cases, No. 7 and (d), in both of which the *Clerkes tale* seems best explained by the presence of the corrupt readings in Chaucer's Latin manuscript; but those readings appeared when *imperiosum* was copied as *imperio* and *aliquem* as *aliquam*, i.e., through the most usual type of scribal mistake, made indeed, in both cases, independently in manuscripts of families *a* and *d*, thus quite possibly also in Chaucer's manuscript, rich in mistakes of that type not shared by CC2. Finally, it is very significant that those thirty-three correspondences, two-thirds of which are unique variants, are so distributed that no manuscript outside of family *d* (unrevised version) has more

Passing from general characters to particular features, rather safe conclusions can be reached concerning many readings of Chaucer's manuscript in the seven-eighths of the *Epistola* not transcribed by the glossator. Obviously where CC2 and the three manuscripts of subgroup *b*<sup>1</sup> have a common variant, the chances are that Chaucer's copy shared it with them, or at any rate did not have the authentic reading. This applies to the variants listed by Mr. Severs on page 63 as characterizing family *b* and to a few others which occur also outside the family and can be gathered from the corpus of variants.<sup>30</sup>

Much more interesting are readings whose occurrence in Chaucer's manuscript is strongly suggested by their presence in CC2. In considering single cases, it is essential to remember what the gloss fragments indicate, viz., that, for any CC2 variant, *irrespective of resemblance with Chaucer's tale*, the probability is 53/100 that it was matched exactly in the glossator's manuscript, 17/100 that it corresponded to a different incorrect reading there, and thus only 30/100 that that manuscript had the correct reading.<sup>31</sup> Needless to say, the probabilities of identity and of closeness are enormously increased when the CC2 readings seem to explain Chaucer. Many of the correspondences of this class will be found in Mr.

than four of them. (The maximum in the *d* family is 8, in the very corrupt P6.) In short, we find no suggestion of contamination anywhere.

It may be worth noting that Chaucer's manuscript as we see it fits in Mr. Severs' well-established and neat genealogical chart of texts of unilateral descent (Chig and Cs being the only exceptions) far better than does his own conception of Chaucer's manuscript as belonging to family *a*, yet partaking in the variants of others (see p. 111) apparently not by accident, but through contamination very complex indeed.

<sup>30</sup> E.g., VI, 45, *cognita et spectata* *cognita et experta* Vat 3, CC2, Ricc, Mib, Har 3, Laur 2.

<sup>31</sup> The variants identical in the glosses and CC2 are twenty-six, but, as Walter's name occurs four times, we count twenty-three identical variants, seven different variants, and thirteen CC2 variants corresponding to correct readings in the glosses.



Severs' list of emendations, pages 112-18. In the light of what precedes, Nos. 3, 6, 8, and 18 will appear as almost certainly shared by Chaucer's source manuscript, and the same is probably true of a large fraction of the others, Nos. 12, 14, 17, 28, and 39. I have the following to add: the name of the heroine, *Grisildis* in Chaucer<sup>32</sup> and CC2<sup>33</sup> versus *Griseldis* in most Latin and French manuscripts<sup>34</sup>—I, 41, *tacita senectus insequitur* *tacite senectus ingreditur*; cf. E 121—I, 45, past definite *recusarunt* in CC2; cf. E 128—II, 14-18; the corruptions of CC2 would account for the break at the end of E 241 and the general statement in E 242-43—II, 59, cf. E 361; Chaucer took *mea* to refer to *voluntas* probably because his manuscript agreed with CC2, here very corrupt, in not having *sors mea* (CC2, *scis mea*)—II, 99, *ma-luisset* in the singular was taken to refer to Griselda, hence E 444—III, 10, *autem* for *ergo*, but in E 486—VI, 13 *facio et faciam*, cf. E 967-70—VI, 15, *domum ornare* for *verrere*; cf. E 974.

In other cases comparison of the texts, including, of course, the French version, indicates that a corrupt reading of CC2 was not shared by Chaucer's manuscript; see, e.g., III, 7 (E 470, *I seye*), IV, 3-4 (E 617-18, *fro the brest . . . of his norice*), IV, 73 (E 779, *ful of gemmes clere*), V, 9 (E 811, *With evene herte*).

Finally, there were in Chaucer's text corrupt variants, perhaps as many as a

hundred or so,<sup>35</sup> corresponding to correct readings in CC2. Judging from the glosses, this class is likely to have included many mistakes due to misunderstanding of abbreviations, some of which would in all likelihood explain puzzling features of the *Clerkes tale*.

This is, I believe, as far as we can profitably go at present in our retrieving of Chaucer's lost text. But some of the manuscripts examined only partially by Mr. Severs are described by him as probably of family *b*,<sup>36</sup> and there must be more. Should any belong to subgroup  $\beta$  (and not derive from CC2), it could no doubt bring us several steps closer to Chaucer's lost copy. Better times may make this investigation possible.

A few remarks in closing. In Chaucer's use of a text as corrupt as his there is a striking illustration of the difficulty of obtaining reliable texts even of recent works, and even for a man with Chaucer's connections;<sup>37</sup> there is also a warning, by no means new but unusually emphatic, against holding him responsible for everything that, in his works, reflects misunderstandings of Dante, Boccaccio, or Virgil. Equally interesting is the fact that Chaucer, though his French translation was infinitely easier reading than complex Petrarchan syntax in a corrupt state, kept returning to the Latin with a good deal more persistence than appeared from the text published by Mr. Severs. What could have dictated this difficult and no doubt often irritating procedure if not that deep reverence for Petrarch and his "high stile" which his Clerk expresses for him, plus probably an impression that, through the

<sup>32</sup> Such forms as *Grysell*, *Griselde*, *Grysels*, and *Crisell* are recorded by Manly as readings of only five manuscripts, none dated before 1450.

<sup>33</sup> CC2 has *Grisildis* in IV, 66, *Grisildam* in VI, 4 (*Griseldam* also recorded, certainly by mistake), *Grisildis* in all other occurrences.

<sup>34</sup> CC2 apart, the Chaucerian form is recorded in the Latin manuscripts only in Bod (*Grysildis*, also *Grysilidus*) and in one occurrence (II, 4) in Har 3 (Severs' note on p. 358 is misleading as to Har 3 and ignores CC2). In the French the only manuscripts that have *i* in the second syllable have the long four-syllable form *Grisil(l)idis* (PN2 and PN4 in all occurrences, PN7 in III, 9).

<sup>35</sup> See n. 26 and the variants grouped under Sec. C, pp. 11-12.

<sup>36</sup> Pp. 53-57.

<sup>37</sup> In view of the probable English origin of CC2 it does not seem unlikely that Chaucer's manuscript was written in England too.

Latin manuscript, bad as it was, he got at least a little closer to the original? Yet the deep reverence had its limits. For if Chaucer had taken time to compare his two versions with any care at all, he could surely, from the French translations of the correct Latin readings, have guessed that Petrarch had written not *hunc florem . . . senectus ingreditur*, but *insequitur* (I, 41), not *dei in pace* but *domi in pace* (II, 88); even the *tam . . . quam* of VI, 69-71, and the *audeant, qui licet* in 73-74 were not be-

yond reconstruction. But why? Nothing could have done better than Chaucer's translation of the mistaken *tacite senectus ingreditur*, "In crepeth age alwey as stille as stoon"; and the other passages also, though some were puzzling as to syntax, did after all make sense. Except where Chaucer's plans for deepening and beautifying the story called for independent writing, he preferred the smoothest course of keeping close to his models.

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## FRANCIS KIRKMAN, BOOKSELLER AND AUTHOR

R. C. BALD

FRANCIS KIRKMAN's claims to be remembered by posterity are at best slender, although his activities as publisher and author during the years just after the Restoration touched the literary interests of the age at various points. Scholars are aware that he collected and catalogued old plays; that the famous collection of drolls known as *The wits* is inseparably linked with his name; that he collaborated with Richard Head in the picaresque romance entitled *The English rogue*; and that he at least foreshadowed later developments in the history of the English novel with his account of a notorious figure of the day in *The counterfeit lady unveiled*. This by no means exhausts the list of his activities, and it is surprising that no fuller account of them has yet been attempted, especially as Kirkman tells so many details about himself in his autobiography, *The unlucky citizen* (1673).<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the existing biographical notices of him are so meager that there is room for a fuller account of his very checkered career.

Francis Kirkman, son of Francis Kirkman, citizen and blacksmith of London, was born on August 23, 1632, for, at the end of the epistle "To the reader" in *The unlucky citizen*, which is dated August 23, 1673, he relates:

[I] am now by a strange providence, come to live in the same house where I drew my

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Chandler (*The literature of roguery*, I, 221-23) calls *The unlucky citizen* a "poor piece of book-making" and treats it as a work similar in character to *The English rogue*. To some extent these criticisms are justified, but the assumption on which this article is based—that the book is a reasonably honest and accurate piece of autobiography—is not precluded. Kirkman's account of his life fits in too well with what is known of it from other sources to make it possible to ignore *The unlucky citizen*.

first breath,<sup>2</sup> and this present day it is forty one years since I was born there.

Of his parentage he writes:

My Father was, though not born in the City, born a Citizen of London, his Father being one before him, and by right he was admitted a Freeman, as I was also after him. My Mother was born of honest and wealthy Parents, whose Predecessors had several other children, and I can reckon that from them have proceeded above two hundred souls, a third part of which are alive, and in prosperous Condition: some of them arriv'd to Eminency in Church and State, and so their Successors continue.<sup>3</sup>

The father, born in 1602, was a native of Clewer in Berkshire,<sup>4</sup> but he served his apprenticeship in London, and in the biennium 1627-29 he was made free of the Blacksmiths' Company.<sup>5</sup> Francis was the eldest of his sons, and he was survived by another son, Thomas; a third son, Robert, who supplied commendatory verses to his brother's first publication, evidently predeceased his father.

Kirkman tells us that he was originally intended for the church but that the death of an uncle who had promised to advance him (a brother of his mother and an "eminent Person in the Church of England") altered his family's plans. However, he was kept at school "and instructed in the

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the "Shop in Fan-Church street over against the sign of the Robin-Hood near Aldgate" mentioned in the imprint of the book as Kirkman's address.

<sup>3</sup> *The unlucky citizen*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>4</sup> By his will (PCC, 67, Laud) he left certain bequests to the poor of his native village; see also *The Victoria county history of Berkshire*, III, 76.

<sup>5</sup> *Blacksmiths' register of freemen, 1599-1694* (MS 2884, Guildhall Library), p. 37. Thomas Kirkman, admitted 1617-19, and Edward Kirkman, admitted 1633-35, were doubtless the brothers of those names mentioned in the will of the elder Francis Kirkman.

*Latine Tongue*, but by a rigid Master, and receiving slender encouragement from a sparing Father, I profited little therein."<sup>6</sup> Yet, although he made but little progress in the classics, it was not from any distaste for books; in a long and interesting passage he tells of the reading that captured his youthful imagination and formed a taste which was to endure for life:

Once I happened upon a Six Pence, and having lately read that famous Book, of the *Fryar and the Boy*, and being hugely pleased with that, as also the excellent History of the *Seven wise Masters of Room*, and having heard great Commendation of *Fortunatus*, I laid out all my mony for that and thought I had a great bargain, conceiting that the Lady *Fortune* would one time or other bestow such a Purse upon me as she did on *Fortunatus*; now having read this Book and being desirous of reading more of that nature; one of my School-fellows lent me *Docter Faustus*, which also pleased me, especially when he travelled in the Air, saw all the World, and did what he listed; but I was as much troubled when the *Devil* came to fetch him; and the Consideration of that horrible end did so much terrifie me, that I often dreamed of it. The next Book I met with was *Fryar Bacon*, whose pleasant stories much delighted me: But when I came to Knight Errantry, and reading *Montelion Knight of the Oracle*, and *Ornatus and Artesia*, and the famous *Parismus*; I was contented beyond measure, and (believing all I read to be true) wished myself Squire to one of these Knights: I proceeded on to *Palmerin of England*, and *Amadis de Gaul*; and borrowing one Book of one person, when I had read it my self, I lent it to another, who lent me one of their Books; and thus *robbing Peter to pay Paul*, I in time had read most of these Histories. All the time I had from School, as *Thursdays* in the Afternoon, and *Saturdays*, I spent in reading these Books; so that I being wholly affected to them, and reading how that *Amadis* and other Knights not knowing their Parents, did in time prove to be Sons of Kings

<sup>6</sup> *The unlucky citizen*, p. 9.

and great Personages; I had such a fond and idle Opinion, that I might in time prove to be some great Person, or at leastwise be Squire to some Knight: And therefore I being asked, What Trade I would be of? first scorned to be any, hoping that I was not born to so mean a Quality; but upon second thoughts, I resolved to be a Chirurghion, and that for several Reasons; as first, because I often found them mentioned in Books of Knight Errantry; and secondly, that I might travel, and thereby see all these several Countreys of *Constantinople*, *Trebizond*, and I know not what Places; and then I did judge that if I were a Chirurghion and did travel, and meet with Knights Errant who were wounded; I should be very necessary and useful in dressing and healing their Wounds, therefore a Chirurghion I was resolved to be and the onely Reason why I would be so, was that I might travel; which my Mother understanding, and not being willing to venture me abroad, would not permit me to be of that Trade, wherefore I was to think again, and then I could not think upon any Trade that would please me so well as a Bookseller, because, by that means I might read all sorts of history Books, and thereby please my self with reading, but I was mistaken therein, for as the Proverb says, *Who goes worse Shoo'd than the Shoo-makers Wife?* So I, since I dealt in Bookselling, have read fewer Books than formerly: but my Father would not allow of this Trade, because he who had never made use of any Book, but the *Bible* and *Practice of Piety* and knew no more but some School Books, did suppose it to be an unprofitable Trade, and profit it was he aimed at. I took my pleasure, delighting in nothing but those sorts of Books, so that I wonder I did not become another *Don Quixot*.<sup>7</sup>

His eagerness for tales of knight-errantry was such that, when he discovered that only five parts of *Amadis de Gaul* had been translated into English, he began, with no knowledge of the language, to read the rest in French. When he had to return the French dictionary he had borrowed, he started to make a manuscript one for him-

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13.

self with the aid of books in both tongues. But he even lacked the means to buy the necessary paper and, until he was caught, made up his dictionary of leaves stolen from the other boys' copybooks. The memory of the flogging his master gave him when he was found out remained with him long afterward, and the report of it convinced his father that it was time to take him from school.

Before putting him to a trade, Kirkman's father took him on a trip into the country where he was negotiating for the purchase of some property, doubtless the land at Benfield Croft, White Waltham, Berkshire, which the son inherited. Kirkman relates how he narrowly escaped drowning in the Thames near Windsor.<sup>8</sup> After the return to London, Kirkman, now about fourteen years old, was apprenticed for eight years to a scrivener,<sup>9</sup> and he has much to say of the indignities he suffered as junior to two senior apprentices. But when the others had served their time, his master took his own son as an apprentice, and Kirkman's lot was little better than before. Not long afterward his mother died of cancer, and his father remarried within two months.<sup>10</sup> His stepmother had already been twice married and had three daughters by her first husband, whose name, as appears from the elder Kirkman's will, had been John Briggs. Her eldest stepson disliked her heartily; he suggests that she had defrauded her second husband's sons of their father's property, and he feared that she had similar designs on his own inheritance. If so, they were disappointed, since she died before her husband. Nevertheless, Kirkman admits that "my Father by his Marriage imbettered himself, and leaving off his Trade became a Gentleman."<sup>11</sup> The

elder Kirkman seems to have settled near the village of Heston in Middlesex, since in his will he speaks of this as his place of residence. He did not, however, altogether withdraw himself from business or from the affairs of the Blacksmiths' Company, and in the very year of his death (1661) he was elected Upper Warden of the Company.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile, Kirkman felt more and more acutely the humiliations he suffered from his master's son, and he no longer had his mother to turn to for sympathy. At last, in a rash moment, he determined to run away. He had decided to go to his father in the country but actually just avoided meeting him in a London street after he had left his master's house, and, scarcely knowing what to do, he took a boat up the river and then walked across Hounslow Heath to Heston, where he found that his father was still absent. At this point the account given in *The unlucky citizen* is not very clear, since parts of the narrative are undoubtedly fictitious and the interest is diversified with accounts of his fellow-travelers, their adventures, and the stories they told one another to beguile the tedium of the journey. Kirkman eventually returned to London, where he passed several weeks rather aimlessly, until he was found by his father, who, to his surprise, treated him with kindness instead of harshly. His indentures were canceled, and an effort was made to find another master for him. But no reputable scrivener would take him, for his escapade was well known; and he had to be content to serve a master with a meager practice and even less reputation. His new master spent the greater part of his days in a neighboring tavern, leaving Kirkman to manage the shop. It was here, he tells us in the preface to the sec-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-32.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>12</sup> *Blacksmiths' court minute book* (MS 28S1/7, Guildhall Library), pp. 91, 95, 96.



ond part of *The English rogue*, that he became acquainted with the knaveries of the scrivener's trade. Nevertheless, he had plenty of leisure; as he says:

I now had time enough to converse with *Knights Errant*, in reading their Adventures. I had still kept my Books, and by daily additions laying out all the Money I could Spare, I had swelled them to such a number, that they looked like a Library, and my Master permitted me so to dispose them in his little Shop, that they were the best furniture therein.<sup>13</sup>

To the infrequent and unsuspecting customer they looked more like a library of learned lawbooks than a collection of frivolous romances.

Kirkman seems to have been incapable of remaining inactive for long, and the comparative leisure he now enjoyed fired him with ambitions of authorship. He decided to finish his translation of the sixth part of *Amadis de Gaul*—the very romance which had been the cause of his learning French—and printed it at his own expense. He found "an honest Widow-woman" to be his printer, and in his haste to see himself in print had the earlier part of it set up long before the copy for the whole book was ready. He was with difficulty "ruled by the Printer to print the ordinary Impression of one thousand,"<sup>14</sup> but he soon found that he had only enough money to buy "six Reams of Paper (when as sixty would not finish it)."<sup>15</sup> To buy the necessary paper he sold most of his books, and in 1652 the volume appeared, a quarto with a handsome title-page in red and black.

Much to his disappointment, Kirkman's first book had only a scanty sale, but he was undeterred. He wrote:

I intended to let the world see some more of my works, and my fancy still running upon

Romances, I was minded to translate another, but by experience finding that those sort of Romances that treated of old impossible *Knight Errantry* were out of fashion, and that there were a sort of new ones crept into their places; I sought for one, and was not long ere I pitch'd upon such a one as I thought would do the business, for this was full of *Love-sick Expressions*, and *Thunder-thumping Sentences*, there was *Love* and *Arms*, and some strange impossible Adventures, for which I liked it the better: I did believe the Gentry of *England* were much indebted to me for this Translation, for I had (like other conceited Translators and Authors) coined several new English Words, which were only such *French* Words as methoughts had a fine Tone with them, or such as I could not handsomely translate, and therefore let them pass as *English*, to be understood as well by the Reader, as by me the Translator, who knew not what to make of them.

*The Loves and Adventures of Clerio and Lozia*, I began, and in short time finished, but long before it was finished, it was begun to be Printed; I had the same impatience as formerly, so that I did not, nor could not, stay till it was all written, but began.

I was again troubled about Paper, but I had some Money, my Stationer some Faith, and the Book was much less than the former, so that finished it was, and I supposing this Book to be more gentile than the former, gave it a more gentile Title, and the name of the Translator being plac'd on the Title-page in large Characters, there was also added the honoured Word *Gent.* to import that the Translator was a Gentleman, that he was every Inch of him in his own imagination, and did believe that the so printing that word on the Title of the Book, did as much entitle him to Gentility, as if he had Letters Patents for it from the *Heralds-Office*: Nay, did suppose this to be more authentick because more publick: And let me tell you, this is a very great Itch in some people, I knew one that translated a Book, and caused it to be Printed meerly to have the Title of *Esg.* added to his Name, and now it is grown so common a Custom, that *Booksellers* usually title their Authors

<sup>13</sup> *The unlucky citizen*, pp. 173-74.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

*Gentlemen, Esquires, and sometimes Persons of Quality*, that are onely poor mercenary fellows, that the Book may have the better esteem, may sell the better.<sup>16</sup>

Just before his second book appeared, Kirkman had his first experience of being arrested. It was on account of a valuable book he had borrowed from a friend and was holding as surety to persuade the unwilling friend to join him in a plan to set out and seek adventures. The principal interest of this incident lies in the reflection it provoked:

My Father was sixty when he died, and lived free from all Arrests, though his dealings were very considerable, and I by that time I was arrived to half his Age, had been arrested I believe sixty times.<sup>17</sup>

*The loves and adventures of Clerio & Lozia: A romance, Written originally in French, and translated into English by Fra. Kirkman, Gent.* appeared, like its predecessor, in 1652;<sup>18</sup> and the dedicatory epistle is so interesting for the light it sheds on Kirkman's tastes and for the support it gives to his statement, made in later years, that he had "taken pleasure to converse with those that were acquainted with" the old dramatists that it deserves quotation in full:

*To his much honored Friend Wil. Beeston, Esq:*  
WORTHY SIR,

Divers times (in my hearing) to the admiration of the whol Company, you have most judiciously discoursed of poesie: which is the cause I presume to chuse you for my Patron and Protector; who are the happiest interpreter and judg of our English Stage-Plays this Nation ever produced; which the Poets and Actors of these times, cannot (without ingratitude) deny; for I have heard the chief, and most ingenious of them, acknowledg their Fames & Profits essentially sprung from your

instructions, judgment and fancy, I am vers'd in Forraign tongues and subscribe to your opinion, that no Nation ever could glory in such Playes, as the most learned and incomperable *Johnson*, the copious *Shakespear*, or the ingenuous *Fletcher* compos'd; but I beleieve the French for amorous language, admirable invention, high atchievements, honorable Loves, inimitable constancy, are not to be equalled: and that no Nation yeilds better Arguments for Romance Playes (the onely Poems now desired) then the French: Therefore, and for you have I translated the Adventures of *Clerio* and *Lozia*; and I doubt not though they fail to receive incouragement from you, your son, Mr *George Beeston* (whom knowing men conclude, a hopeful inheritor of his Fathers rare ingenuity) may receive them with a gracious allowance.

And sir, though the work be not entirely happy in your construction (for my years are not arrived to knowledg to add where the Author wants matter, or to lessen where he abounds) yet you will find much newness in the Story, worthy an excellent Poet to insoul it for the Stage; where it wil receive full perfection equal to the ambition of

*The constant admirer of your Excellent Parts,*  
FRA. KIRKMAN, JUN.

With the appearance of his second book Kirkman's articles expired, and the literary prentice was at last able to set up in business for himself. In after years, recalling his folly in running away from his first master, he reflected bitterly that when I went to set up for my self, . . . I was forced to be contented with a little *Dog-hole* of a Shop, at the utmost Skirts of *London*, where being wholly a Stranger, I could not expect any considerable Practice,<sup>19</sup>

but at the time it all seemed delightful. There was much searching for convenient quarters, and his father had given him £10 with which to set up.

At last the Tower Liberty was the place pitched on, and there was a Shop found for

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 180-82.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>18</sup> George Thomason received his copy on August 3.

<sup>19</sup> *The unlucky citizen*, p. 53.

me, I was very glad of the news, and proud of my little Shop, for a great one it could not be of 40s. a year Rent. It was scituate at an Alehouse dore, and had serv'd for a Drinking room, and had a door into the house; but my Father, that I might not be too near the Alehouse, and mistake my dore and go in thither, caused the old dore to be fastned up, and a new one made another way.<sup>20</sup>

Shortly afterward he became a citizen of London in the full sense. The records of the Blacksmiths show that on October 20, 1653, "francis Kirkman the son of ffrancis Kirkman a freeman of this Company was made free by patrimony," and on the same day he was chosen with five other newly elected freemen to walk in the approaching lord mayor's procession as a whiffler.<sup>21</sup>

*The unlucky citizen* has little more to tell of this part of Kirkman's life, except that he became acquainted with an Anglican divine, imprisoned by Cromwell's government in the Tower near by, and helped him to escape. As he confesses at the end of his preface to the book, "although I am now forty years old, yet this reacheth not much above twenty years." His marriage must have taken place about the time at which his narrative ceases, for the registers of St. Olave's, Hart Street, show that in June, 1654, he married Ann Phillips in that church.<sup>22</sup> It appears that he was already in financial difficulties, for in the passage following that already quoted in which he alludes to the number of times he had been arrested, he exclaims:

Do you not think it an unlucky thing to be arrested within a few days after you were married, for your Wedding Clothes? And do you not think it much more unlucky to have

those very Clothes and your Wife's too, soon after seiz'd and attach'd for Diet and Lodging, and that when both these parties had no reason to do it, being promised and assured their Moneys in a few days, and which was paid accordingly, was not this such a Misfortune as would try and vex your patience? Would it not appear to you an unlucky thing to be arrested for Gloves and Ribbons, pretended to be delivered at your Wedding, which were never so done, the Glover setting down almost as many Gloves again, as there were Folks at the Wedding?<sup>23</sup>

Probably his financial embarrassments were only temporary, and on May 2, 1655, a daughter, Elizabeth, baptized at St. Olave's on May 11, was born to him.<sup>24</sup>

Kirkman seems at first to have combined the trades of bookseller and scrivener in his shop near the Tower. At any rate, in the preface to the second part of *The English rogue* (first published in 1668) he wrote:

As for the Book-sellers trade, my inclination leading me to it very much, I did about twelve years ago publicly profess it, in keeping a Shop, wherein I used as well the Bookselling, as the Scriveners quality; but having knaves to deal with, of whom I bought some part of my ware, I soon left off the Book selling trade, only keeping to the other; in which I sufficiently profited myself; And I defie all the world to charge me with any *Knavery* in the whole course of my practice; which during the time of great building at the East part of *London* (where I dwelt) I gained much.

During this period he essayed but one publishing venture. In 1657 the pseudo-Marlovian play, *Lust's dominion, or the lascivious queen*, appeared with a dedication signed by "Fra. Kirkman. Jun." to his "worthily honored Friend William Carpenter, Esquire," without whose "favour and command" the piece "had never past the Presse." Its appearance suggests

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

<sup>21</sup> *Blacksmiths' court minute book, 1648-1658*, pp. 191 and 193. A whiffler's duty was to walk beside the procession carrying a staff to keep back the press of spectators.

<sup>22</sup> *The registers of St. Olave, Hart Street, London, 1563-1700* (Harleian Society Publications, 1916), p. 271.

<sup>23</sup> *The unlucky citizen*, pp. 198-99.

<sup>24</sup> *Registers*, p. 62.

that, under the influence of the Beestons, Kirkman's love of romances was being replaced by an equal ardor for the drama.

Soon after the Restoration, Kirkman decided to move. The building boom in the East End, which had given him a measure of prosperity, had died down, and he doubtless thought that the changes in fashion brought about by the return of the Cavaliers would provide more scope for one of his literary and dramatic tastes. Accordingly, he decided to try his fortune again as a bookseller and moved to the other end of the City, nearer to the centers of fashion. His new shop was "at the Sign of *John Fletchers Head*, over against the Angel-Inne, on the Back-side of St. Clements, without Temple-Bar"; and again he "professed both Trades of a Scrivener and a Bookseller," but it is clear that it was as a bookseller that he hoped to succeed. A circulating library such as his own collection could provide would, he believed, prove an attraction to the young Templars:

the pleasure I have taken in Books of this nature, (viz. *Plays*) hath bin so extraordinary, that it hath bin much to my cost; for I have been (as we term it) a Gatherer of *Plays* for some years, and I am confident I have more of several sorts than any man in England, Bookseller, or other: I can at any time shew 700 in number, which is within a small matter all that were ever printed. Many of these I have several times over, and intend as I sell, to purchase more; All, or any of which, I shall be ready either to sell or lend to you upon reasonable Considerations;<sup>25</sup>

and elsewhere he advertised that

if any Gentleman please to repair to my House aforesaid, they may be furnished with all manner of English, or French Histories, Ro-

mances or Poetry; which are to be sold, or read for reasonable Considerations.<sup>26</sup>

Kirkman also entered with vigor into publishing. In the epistle to Webster and Rowley's *Cure for a cuckold* (1661) he announced his intention of publishing three plays "this Term": *A cure for a cuckold*, *The Thracian wonder*, and *Gammer Gurton's needle*. The first two must have appeared almost simultaneously, since the Thomason copies in the British Museum are dated February 20 and February 5, respectively. In the epistle to *The Thracian wonder* he expressed the hope that more plays would soon follow:

I have several others that I intend for you suddenly: I shall not (as some others of my profession have done<sup>27</sup>) promise more than I will perform in a year or two, or it may be never; but I will assure you that I shall never leave printing, as long as you shall continue buying. I have several *Manuscripts* of this nature, written by worthy Authors, and I account it much pity they should now lye dormant, and buried in oblivion, since ingenuity is likely to be encouraged, by reason of the happy Restoration of our Liberties.

In addition, he secured stocks of Sir William Lower's three plays, *The enchanted lovers*, *The noble ingratitude*, and *The amorous phantasm* (which had been printed in Holland just before the Restoration), and issued them with new title-pages. Two other books—Middleton's *Spanish Gipsy* (1661) and Sir Aston Cokayne's *Poems* (1662)—also exist with variant title-pages announcing Kirkman as the publisher.

Kirkman did not fail in his promise to publish *Gammer Gurton's needle*; but, when it appeared, it contained the imprint "Printed by *Tho. Johnson*, and are to be sold by *Nath. Brook* at the Angel in

<sup>25</sup> "The Stationer to the Judicious Reader," prefixed to Webster and Rowley's *Cure for a cuckold* (1661). This statement, with variations, is to be found in nearly all the books published by Kirkman about this time.

<sup>26</sup> Advertisement at the end of Webster and Rowley's *Thracian wonder* (1661).

<sup>27</sup> This is probably a gibe at Humphrey Moseley, who had entered far many more plays in the Stationers' Register than he ever published.

*Cornhil, Francis Kirkman at the John Fletchers Head, on the Back-side of St. Clements, Tho. Johnson at the Golden Key in Pauls-Church-yard, and Henry Marsh at the Princes Arms in Chancery-lane, near Fleet-street. 1661.*" This volume probably marks the beginning of a partnership in the publication of plays which Kirkman was later to repent. He had already, it would seem, joined with Marsh in bringing out *The merry conceited humours of Bottom the weaver* (1661, dated March 25 on the title-page by Thomason); but the larger syndicate in the same year brought out, in addition to *Gammer Gurton*, another old play, *Tom Tyler and his wife* (to which Kirkman's first catalogue of plays was appended),<sup>28</sup> and T. C.'s *Two merry milk-maids*.

Of Kirkman's partners, Brook was the oldest and had been an active bookseller since 1646.<sup>29</sup> Thomas Johnson was a young printer and bookseller, whose name first appears on a book printed in 1659.<sup>30</sup> He had already printed *A cure for a cuckold* and *The Thracian wonder* for Kirkman, and the association thus formed lasted until his death in 1672. Marsh was also a

young man, admitted to the freedom of the Stationers' Company on September 7, 1657,<sup>31</sup> whose shop in Chancery Lane attracted a clientele similar to that which Kirkman was seeking. This syndicate proceeded to embark on further activities, which soon led them into trouble. The story is best told in Kirkman's own words, in a passage from his preface to the second part of *The English rogue*:

I now thought my self wise enough to deal with the Booksellers; but I soon found my self deceived to my cost, for I was drawn in by some of that profession to be concern'd in printing of Play-books; in which, I having skill, and much affection to the matter, willingly engaged. I, for my part only printed three, which were my own proper Copies; and they (though I dissuaded them therefrom) made choice of the best Playes then extant; though the Copies were other mens, I thought this criminal, but they made a tush at it.

The owner of the Copies hearing of this wrong done to them, gained a Warrant to seize them: My Partners secured theirs, and one of them had so much cunning *Knavery* as to come to me, and sell me his share and within a day or two after delivery, directed the Officers (who had warrant to seize) to my house, where they at once took from me 1400 Play-

<sup>28</sup> The title-page to this play merely has "London, Printed in the Year, 1661." for its imprint; but the heading of the catalogue at the end, which contains the names and addresses of Kirkman and his three partners, shows that they were the publishers.

<sup>29</sup> H. R. Plomer (*Dictionary of booksellers and printers from 1641 to 1687*, p. 34) distinguishes between Nathaniel Brook, bookseller from 1646 to 1677, and Nathan Brooks, bookbinder, who, with two others, was found guilty in 1664 of publishing seditious books and was condemned to stand in the pillory and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure.

<sup>30</sup> About the time of the beginning of his partnership with Kirkman, Johnson gave proof of his courage and loyalty during the rising of the Fifth Monarchy men (*CSP, Dom., Charles II, 1660-61*, p. 470), but later references to him are not so favorable. He got so badly into debt to the English Stock of the Stationers' Company that an action at law was brought against him, though, on his making submission, the action was withdrawn and he was given permission on March 26, 1666, to pay off the debt in instalments (*Stationers' court book D*, fols. 117<sup>b</sup> and 129<sup>b</sup>). In April, 1666, he was in prison for a time for printing an obscene book without license (*CSP, Dom., Charles II, 1665-66*, p. 339).

<sup>31</sup> There were two men named Henry Marsh in the book trade during the seventeenth century, and they are confused by Plomer. The first took up his freedom on October 5, 1635 (E. Arber, *Transcript of the registers of the Stationers' Company*, III, 687), and published several books from his shop "over against the golden Lyon Taverne in Princes Street" in 1641 and 1642. The second (Kirkman's partner) took up his freedom on September 7, 1657 (*Stationers' register of freemen*) and established himself at "the Princes Armes at the lower end of Chancery Lane." On July 21, 1663, he was imprisoned in the Gatehouse with two fellow-stationers for seditious practices, but he was released on September 12 on giving a bond for his good behavior. On February 29, 1664, he was summoned to appear before the secretary of state but was discharged two days later (*CSP, Dom., Charles II, 1663-64*, pp. 497, 503). Shortly afterward he was in financial difficulties; on April 30, 1665, the Stationers' Company granted his request for a loan of £10 but refused another request for a loan of £50 (*Stationers' court book D*, fols. 108<sup>b</sup> and 109<sup>b</sup>). He died of the plague in 1665 and was evidently unmarried, since by his will, dated September 10, 1666 (PCC, 100, Hyde), he left his estate to his mother.



books; the value whereof is easily computed to be considerable.

This happening in time of much business (for my Mother was then lately dead, and my Father dying) I could not look after the recovery of my books, which I heard were divided, and I never to this day had satisfaction of one or other. My Father soon after dying, and leaving me a plentiful estate, I resolved to quit all Trading in general, retire into the Country, and lead a Contemplative life; (for indeed I never had a love for any Trade, hating the baseness in general, and only used them for a livelihood) I having thus given out, had several offers from Book-sellers to buy my books (which were of a considerable value, being valued at some hundreds of pounds;) He who had so lately cheated me, did amongst others desire to have them, and did ingeniously confess the trick he had lately put upon me: and this his ingenious confession, he made as an argument for me to trust him with the rest of my Books: Though I should have made this use of his confession, not to deal with him further, yet he promising all honesty for the future. I again agreed to trust him with my whole stock, and thereby did I agree to cheat my self; for though it was his fault to cheat me the first time, yet now it was onely mine, to let him do it after so fair a knowledge as he did; for though he lived some years after that, yet I could never get any considerable returns for my Stock of Books, and he in the late great Contagion dying, and I hoping to get what he owed me, ventured to possess my self of his Estate, and pay several Debts which he owed to others, but they proved so many, and his Estate so small, that I was worse than I was before; and this gave me so sensible a squeeze that I am yet sensible of.

In three respects Kirkman's narrative is confirmed by outside evidence. In the first place, it is clear that the business methods of Kirkman and his associates aroused the indignation of two booksellers, Humphrey Robinson and Anne Moseley, who were the joint owners of most of the important dramatic copyrights at the time, since their edition of *Beggars bush* in

1661 contained the following manifesto on its title-page:

You may speedily expect those other Playes, which Kirkman, and his Hawkers have deceived the buyers withall, selling them at treble the value, that this and the rest will be sold for, which are the onely Originall and corrected copies, as they were first purchased by us at no mean rate, and since printed by us.

Second, Kirkman's father died between August 20, 1661 (when he made his will), and October 25 (when an election was held by the Blacksmiths to fill the office left vacant by his death).<sup>32</sup> Third, three plays and a pamphlet dated 1662 (Rowley's *Birth of Merlin*, Middleton's *Anything for a quiet life*, Nevile's *Poor scholar*, and Robert Cressner's *Anti-Baal Beriton justified*) are described in the imprint as "Printed . . . for Francis Kirkman, and Henry Marsh, and are to be sold at the Princes Arms in Chancery-Lane." This makes it clear that by the beginning of 1662 Kirkman had given up his shop behind St. Clement's and that the books in which he had an interest were being sold from Marsh's shop. Marsh, then, was the traitor to whom Kirkman handed over his stock and his interests.

What were the plays pirated by Kirkman and his partners? McKerrow, in discussing falsely dated books,<sup>33</sup> pointed out that one of the two editions of Heywood's *Love's mistress*, dated 1640 (the one with "The/QUEENS MASQUE" on the title-page) was actually printed after the Restoration. If the falsely dated edition is compared with a typical example of Johnson's work for the syndicate, such as *The two merry milk-maids*, one soon notices certain general similarities in the layout of the preliminaries which create a strong

<sup>32</sup> Blacksmiths' court minute book, 1658-62, p. 107.

<sup>33</sup> Introduction to bibliography for literary students, p. 203.

impression that both books are the product of the same printing-house. For instance, in *The two merry milk-maids* there is a row of fleurs-de-lis above and below "The Names of the Persons" and another row of them above the beginning of the text, as well as a row of a different *fleuron* above "The Printer to the Reader." The fleurs-de-lis appear again above the Prologue; and below it, instead of a rule, is a row of long dashes, not quite horizontal, all of which print more heavily at the right than at the left. In addition, a song in the play is printed in double columns to save space. The falsely dated quarto of *Love's mistress* has a similar row of fleurs-de-lis above and of dashes below the dramatis personae and rows of the other *fleuron* above the dedicatory epistle and the beginning of the text, and the songs in the play are set in double columns. Strong suspicion that this edition was a piracy of Kirkman and his associates is, however, converted into certainty when one discovers that *Love's mistress* is advertised at the end of *The poor scholar* in a list of twelve plays, of which nine are known to have been legitimately published by Kirkman and Marsh.

There is another play which has features in common with the falsely dated edition of *Love's mistress*. There are actually three editions of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful lady*, each calling itself "the sixth Edition" and each stating that it was printed for Humphrey Moseley in 1651. One of these (Greg, 334f) is undoubtedly genuine, but another (334g) looks as if it were the product of Johnson's printing-house. It has a telltale row of fleurs-de-lis above and another of the dashes below the dramatis personae, and a row of the other *fleuron* Johnson so frequently used appears above the beginning of the text. This pirated edition of *The scornful lady* accounts, in part at least, for

the enmity of Anne Moseley and Humphrey Robinson against Kirkman.<sup>34</sup>

Kirkman probably felt that he was fortunate when his father's death enabled him to think of closing his shop. Almost immediately afterward he paid a fine of £4 to the Blacksmiths' Company to avoid becoming Steward of the Yeomanry, and on the same day, October 29, 1661, he was admitted, on payment of a similar fine, to the livery of the Company.<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately, a lacuna in the Company's records prevents us from ascertaining what further part, if any, he took in the Company's affairs. His father's will,<sup>36</sup> proved May 31, 1662, shows how substantial an inheritance had fallen to him. The elder Kirkman directed that his personal estate should be divided into two moieties, of which one was to be shared between his two sons, although the elder son's share was to be subject to a deduction of £650, which, it is interesting to learn, his indulgent father had already advanced him. The other moiety, after the payment of legacies amounting to £233 and the bequest of a lease to Francis, was again to be divided between the two sons. There still remained the real estate. After providing

<sup>34</sup> It is far from certain that this is a complete account of the piracies of Kirkman and his partners. Kirkman says that "they made choice of the best Playes then extant," suggesting that piracy on a much wider scale had at least been contemplated. The fact that Kirkman and Marsh were advertising and selling *Love's mistress* in 1662, after Kirkman had given up his shop, shows that the piracy of this play, which was not the property of Robinson and Moseley, had been successful. Thus *The scornful lady* is left as the sole cause of the raid on Kirkman's house.

There also exists a falsely dated quarto of *The knight of the burning pestle* (Greg, 316c); and three other of the most popular Beaumont and Fletcher plays—*The maid's tragedy*, *King and no king*, and *The elder brother*—appeared at this time in new editions with no imprint except "London, Printed in the Year, 1661." There is insufficient evidence to connect any of these editions with Johnson's printing-house, but they all look suspicious, and some or all of them may well have been surreptitiously put on the market by Kirkman and his group.

<sup>35</sup> Blacksmiths' court minute book, 1658-1662, p. 107.

<sup>36</sup> PCC, 67, Laud.

somewhat meagerly for his stepdaughters, who were threatened with the forfeiture of their bequests if they disputed the terms of the will, he left five properties to his son Thomas and the residue to Francis. Only two properties are mentioned in the last bequest, one because it was subject to a life-interest in favor of the testator's brother and the other because it was subject to an annual charge for the benefit of the poor of his native parish. Kirkman was certainly left well off, and, looking back, he was able to affirm in the preface to *The unlucky citizen* that "in the year 1663 I was worth of clear estate as I then reckoned above 4000 l."

After his father's death Kirkman apparently spent about three years living quietly in the country. If he cultivated any literary interests during this period, he must have returned to his first loves—the tales of knight-errantry—and written part of his version of *Don Bellianis of Greece*.<sup>37</sup> In 1665, however, he decided to return to London, and the preface to *The unlucky citizen* contains a long list of his misfortunes during the succeeding years. The expense of fitting up a new house soon devoured all his ready money, and shortly afterward all normal business was disrupted by the plague. In addition, says Kirkman,

I had so many extraordinary charges came daily on me, for I had a Father in Law, Brother in Law and his Child and so many several Cosins and Friends were sick and dyed of the Contagion (neither was my own Family free from it.)<sup>38</sup> who had great part of their subsistence from me, that my money was soon gone.

<sup>37</sup> Entered in *Stationers' register*, June 7, 1664.

<sup>38</sup> The fate of Kirkman's wife and daughter is unknown. All that can be said is that his first wife was dead some time before 1673, since in a passage in *The unlucky citizen* (p. 200) he mentions that an arrest interrupted his courtship of a widow, but he does not say whether he married her.

Doubtless he hoped to recoup himself when he took over the estate of Marsh, another victim of the plague, in order to recover what Marsh owed him; but it was not long before he found that he had only assumed fresh liabilities, even though he thus acquired the rights in such books as *The wits* and *The English rogue*, which must eventually have proved a source of profit to him. For a time he attempted to run Marsh's business as a going concern, and in 1666 a pamphlet called *Hollands ingratitude*, by Charles Molloy, was printed "by T. J. for Fr. K. at the Princes Armes in Chancery Lane,"<sup>39</sup> but his having undertaken the responsibility of Marsh's debts soon landed him in trouble:

I was engaged to pay 200 l. and it becoming due in *November* after the fire, and I failing in payment, in *December* I was arrested (because I could not bleed sufficiently) turned into *Bishops-gate* prison the then Counter, I was there forced to keep my Christmas, being there prisoner four dayes before, and four after Christmas day, in all nine days, and then obtained my liberty with much charge and trouble, for I had four Actions of 100 l. a piece, being each 50 l. principal debt.

Other troubles were also pressing hard upon him; in the passage already referred to, in which Kirkman describes some of the occasions on which he was arrested, he also exclaims:

Would not you think you had very hard luck, if you in trusting others to receive and pay Rent for you, he should be so negligent a Knave as to omit paying of Ground Rent, and thereby your Estate be forfeited, and you forced to pay all Arrears besides?

Thus have I been twice served to the loss of two very considerable Leases.<sup>40</sup>

This statement is confirmed by the Chancery case of *Kirkman v. Catterell*,<sup>41</sup> in

<sup>39</sup> In the Bagford Collection in the British Museum (Harl. 5919, fol. 105) there is a broadside poem with a similar imprint entitled *The rogue discovered*, printed by Kirkman to advertise *The English rogue*.

<sup>40</sup> *The unlucky citizen*, p. 200. <sup>41</sup> C9/236/95.

which Kirkman on February 7, 1666/67, attempted to seek relief from the Court of Chancery against two successful actions of ejectment, brought in the Court of King's Bench, on account of nonpayment of rent on certain properties at Knockfergus in the parish of Stepney. But Kirkman had little success as a litigant, and he complained that

commonly I have been as unlucky in Suits of Law, both as *Plaintiff* as *Defendant*. In one wherein I was engaged there was two hundred pounds ready money spent on our part, and we with much difficulty received a hundred pound composition Money.<sup>42</sup>

It was not until 1669 that Kirkman managed to clear himself of the liabilities he had incurred during 1665 and 1666. Meanwhile, although perhaps not a very active bookseller, he was still interested in the trade. Francis Bailey's *The spiteful sister: a new comedy* appeared in 1667 with a variant title-page merely stating that it was "Printed for Francis Kirkman," while in 1668 Jordan's *Money is an asse: a comedy* and the second part of *The English rogue* were published with the imprint "for Fra. Kirkman, and are to be sold by most Book-sellers." The last-named work was his own composition and must at least have provided him with some distraction during his time of trouble. The first part was the work of Richard Head and was originally published in 1664 or 1665 by Marsh. It was published without license and was suppressed on account of its obscenity; the printers were in danger of imprisonment, and the author had to hide in order to escape arrest.<sup>43</sup> A revised and expurgated

edition appeared in 1665, and other editions appeared annually until 1668. Soon after taking over Marsh's business, Kirkman made Head's acquaintance and tried to persuade him to continue the book, but Head refused;<sup>44</sup> thereupon, says Kirkman,

I apply'd myself to another, a brother of the same trade; a professed Author, and one who hath been happy enough in the sale of many of his writings: him I courted into a compliance with my desire, and perswaded to begin to write somewhat to the purpose; I proposing to give an account of the knavery of many trades and professions. I gave him my best instructions, and laid my groundwork well enough, as I hoped to have him proceed: But so soon as he knew my intention of making his writing a part of (by joining it to) *The Rogue*, with some anger he left it, and refused to proceed.

He having thus laid down the Cudgels, I then took them up my self, and those loose scribed papers, which I had written for his instruction to proceed upon, I viewed over, and after some small correction they serve for the greatest part of this Treatise.<sup>45</sup>

Later Head was persuaded to take part in a further continuation, and in 1671 the third and fourth parts appeared. In a preface to the next edition of the first part (1672) Kirkman, with his usual frankness, declared that

my design [in writing the second part] was out of three considerations, the first and chiefest was to gain ready money, the second I had an itch to gain some Reputation in Print, and thereby revenge my self on some who had abused me, and whose actions I recited, and the third was to advantage the Reader and make him a gainer by acquainting him with my experiences. These were the reasons for my engaging in the Second Part, and the very same reason induced me to joyn with the Authour in composing and writing a third and fourth Part, in which we have club'd so equal-

<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, the two men were joint publishers, early in 1667, of *Poor Robin's jests*.

<sup>43</sup> Preface to *The second part of the English rogue* (1668).

<sup>42</sup> *The unlucky citizen*, pp. 203-4.

<sup>43</sup> So much may be inferred from an anecdote related by Kirkman in the preface to the second part. No copy of the original edition appears to have survived, but it may well have been on account of *The English rogue* that Marsh received a summons from the secretary of state on February 29, 1664 (see n. 31 above).

ly, and intermixt our stories so joyntly, that it is some difficulty for any at first sight to distinguish what we particularly writ.

When the second part of *The English rogue* was published, Kirkman was probably living "under St. Ethelboroughs Church in Bishops-gate-street," where early in 1669 he published the anonymous *Psittacorum regio*, an example of the satirical "imaginary voyage." Being at last fairly clear of debt, he decided to set up a more ambitious establishment, but the new shop, "in Thames-street, over against the Custom-House,"<sup>46</sup> was not a success: when I first came thither, all the Neighbouring houses were tenanted, and as I thought well too, but in a few monthes it proved otherwise: for most of them were broken and gone within the year, and I left almost alone.<sup>47</sup>

There was nothing for it but to find a better site, even though there was no escape from the lease he already held. In desperation he established himself (sometime between July and November, 1671)<sup>48</sup> among all the other booksellers in St. Paul's churchyard," next door to the Sign of the Princes Arms,"<sup>49</sup> in the shop which had been that of Nevile Simmons and alongside that which had formerly been occupied by Humphrey Moseley. But once again failure stared him in the face, not because there was lack of opportunity but because his health broke down and he had to retire to the country, leaving the shop to the care of an assistant. His breathless style as he relates his predicament vividly depicts a sick man's fears:

<sup>46</sup> The address in the imprint of Dancer's *Nicomède*, the second part of *Don Bellianis*, and the third and fourth parts of *The English rogue*, all dated 1671.

<sup>47</sup> Preface to *The unlucky citizen*.

<sup>48</sup> The change of address occurred between the publication of the Trinity and the Michaelmas Term catalogues for 1671.

<sup>49</sup> The address on the imprint of the third part of *Don Bellianis* (1672) and the 1672 edition of *The English rogue*.

I had one house which I had lately left of 40 l. *per annum*, and lay dead on my hands, my new shop and Chamber together with my servants wages stood me in 30 s. a week, where he did not take 10 s. I owed 100 l. of new debts, several other old debts, but above all 100 l. an old debt for which there was a judgment against me, (this was more terrible to me then raw head and bloody bones to children:) and I knew not how soon execution would be served, either on my wares in my shop in London, or goods at home; I was frightened by every one that knockt at my door at home and every day expected no good but ill news from abroad, had I not been so sick that I could not possibly keep my shop my self, I should and would have *withered the point*, done wel enough with al these concerns but my distemper made me very weak and sick in my body, and my disordered and distempered estate had made me worse in my mind, I had estate more then enough to pay all, but then attempting to sell my Commodities, I was offered less by 5 s. in the pound then they cost me, and indeed some gaped to buy them, and made themselves cock sure of a bargain in hopes of my death or ruine: this was the true case of my affair, and thus was I troubled in both body and mind; when I began this ensuing Treatise.

The "ensuing Treatise" was *The unlucky citizen*, and it was written in something of the same spirit as Robert Greene's later pamphlets had been, with the same desire to exact some profit from personal misfortune and with the same blending of moralizing and merrymaking. It eased Kirkman's mind, and, as his health returned, his optimism returned. By the time he had finished the preface (which is dated February 2, 1672-73) he was able to report:

I first got cleared of my unprofitable shop and servant, which stood me in twenty shillings a week, next I discharged my self of the greatest of my new debts by exchange and sale of Commodities, for which I had an honest profitable rate: and then walking abroad I



first got rid of my house of forty pound *per Annum*, although at 200 l. loss, and glad I came off so to; my terrible judgement of 200 l. is discharged, and so are several other debts new and old, so that I now owe less than ever, and no more then what I can at any time pay at ten days warning, and can without fear *whet my knife at the Compter-gate*, I have a stock as well worth 500 l. as any man that consists in that kind of commodity; and that commodity for which in my sickness I was offer'd five shillings in the pound less, I have since sold for ten shillings in the pound gain. I have 1000 l. oweing me abroad, and besides my own dwelling and goods I have yearly rents enough to maintain me without much trouble.

Even so, his difficulties were not yet over, for there is an epistle, dated August 23 of the same year, following the preface, in which he relates a fresh series of misfortunes. He had expected to publish the book during the Easter term, but his printer, Thomas Johnson, died when about two-thirds of the book had been printed:

he having a Nurse or house-keeper, she conceals his death from me and others, and conveys away all my white paper, to the valew of about 10 l. which I could never since hear of, and the Printer being much indebted one of his Creditors having a Judgement against him, serves it upon his goods, and seizes them, and also my Printed sheets. This deceased Printer, had formerly bin my great and *unlucky* confident, one in whom I much trusted, for at the time of his death he owed me above 200 l. which I knew was all lost, neither was that all my loss, for besides that 200 and odd pounds, all my Books and Paper, I was bound for him for 50 l. and knew not what was paid of it.

Kirkman had to buy back the printed sheets of *The unlucky citizen* and had no sooner done so than he was arrested on the bond for £50. He spent a week in prison before giving security for the payment of the debt. When *The unlucky citizen* eventually appeared, it was issued from Kirk-

man's shop "in *Fan-church street* over against the sign of the *Robin-Hood* near *Aldgate*," where he was now established. The book had been "with much ado finished; but not so perfect as was intended<sup>50</sup> for it hath been such an *unlucky extravagant* as to wander to four Printing houses, whereas it was designed to be printed at one."<sup>51</sup>

Kirkman's moves between 1669 and 1673 are bewildering, but in spite of his many troubles he was fairly active during the period both as author and as publisher. In collaboration with Head he had written the two last parts of *The English rogue*, the third being published in Easter term and the fourth in Michaelmas term in 1671.<sup>52</sup> Besides writing *The unlucky citizen*, he completed his version of *Don Bellianis of Greece* in three parts,<sup>53</sup> and in 1674 he returned to another of his youthful favorites, bringing out his translation of an enlarged version of *The seven wise masters of Rome* under the title *Prince Erastus*.<sup>54</sup> He had evidently clung to his collection of plays throughout his misfortunes, since his second catalogue was appended to Dancer's version of Corneille's *Nicomède* (1671); his unquenched interest in the drama was shown by the publication in 1672 of a second edition of *The wits* and in 1673 of a second part of *The wits*.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup> This is an understatement, since typographical errors abound in the book and give the impression that no proofs were ever corrected. Such errors have been silently corrected in the quotations in this article.

<sup>51</sup> "To the Reader instead of the Errata."

<sup>52</sup> *Term catalogues*, ed. E. Arber, I, 80, 86.

<sup>53</sup> The second part had been issued in 1664 by Johnson. The completed work is advertised in the *Term catalogues* (ed. Arber, I, 100) for Hilary term, 1672. In the British Museum copy, Vol. I is dated 1673, Vol. II 1671, Vol. III 1672, and each volume has a different address in the imprint.

<sup>54</sup> Other publications of the period were *The counterfeit lady unveiled* (1673) (discussed at length by E. Bernbaum, *The Mary Carleton narratives, 1663-1673*, pp. 45-90) and *Epiavros, or a Course of catechising* (1674).

<sup>55</sup> Edited and discussed by J. J. Elson (Ithaca, 1932).

Kirkman's later publications suggest that, in the main, he was trying to cater for a humbler public than he had done earlier in his career. His preface to *Don Bellianis* contains a very interesting survey of the popular tales of knight-errantry, the reading of which he advocates both for children and "grave retired citizens." Then, after referring to the heroic romances, he makes some remarks which, as coming from one who was both a bookseller and an inveterate reader of such literature, throw important light on the changes of taste during the years immediately following the Restoration:

All which [i.e., the heroic romances] although they are excellent Pieces and were not long since in great esteem with the French and English Nobility and Gentry, yet they are also thrust out of use by the present slighting and neglect of all Books in general, by the particular esteem of our late *English stage Plays*.

Kirkman's later years are shrouded in obscurity. *Prince Erastus*, published in the Easter term, 1674,<sup>56</sup> has the Fenchurch Street imprint on the title-page; but thereafter Kirkman put no address on the books he published, merely stating that they were "sold by most Book-sellers." Nor did he write anything more. *The English rogue* was still unfinished; and, although a fifth and last part came out in 1688, there is nothing to show that Kirkman had anything to do with its composition.<sup>57</sup> He seems to have regarded *The unlucky citizen* as a companion venture in the realms of the picaresque novel; and in his preface to *Prince Erastus* he announced his intention "suddenly to prosecute the Story not only of my many misfortunes, but to furnish it with more variety of *Novels* or *Examples*; neither shall it

be wanting of *Precepts* as well as *Presidents*, and such as shall be Profitable, and of good and general use for Readers of any quality; so that I question not, but it will be worthy thy Perusal"; but he never proceeded with his plan, perhaps because he was never again in urgent need of funds. Except for the title-pages of books, the only evidence of his later activities is supplied by a document among the State Papers where, in a list of printing-houses made on March 29, 1675, Kirkman's name appears at the end among those of "Printers set up since the Act was in force."<sup>58</sup> It is possible that he had taken over Johnson's printing-house as, earlier, he had taken over Marsh's shop. Anne Johnson, the widow, had printed *Prince Erastus* and the 1674 edition of *The English rogue* for him, but she was already in difficulties with the Stationers' Company, who, on August 4, 1673, ordered "that the Master and Wardens of this Company doe take some time to discourse the Widow Johnson about the printing presse, which shee nowe p'tends to be setting vpp."<sup>59</sup> Nothing more is heard of the matter in the Stationers' records, but her name does not appear in the 1675 list of printers, and she may well have ceded the proprietorship to Kirkman. There is no information of Kirkman's activities as a printer, and he need have been no more than a sleeping partner in the business.

The later works published by Kirkman include *Studii legalis ratio, or directions for the study of the law*, by W. P. (third edition, 1675), and Richard Whitecombe's *Janua divorum: or the lives and histories of the heathen gods, goddesses, & demi-gods* (1678). His name appears in the imprint of the 1680 edition of *The English rogue*, but thereafter he is heard of no more. It must be presumed that he died about this

<sup>56</sup> *Term catalogues*, I, 169.

<sup>57</sup> The fifth part is extremely brief and perfunctory, serving merely to gather up a few of the loose ends and bring the story to a conclusion as rapidly as possible.

<sup>58</sup> CSP, Dom., Charles II, 1675-76, p. 43.

<sup>59</sup> Stationers' court book D, fol. 219b.

time, although no record of his burial or of his will has been discovered. Kirkman's collection of plays passed into the hands of Nicholas Cox, an Oxford bookseller, who republished his catalogue, with a few additions, in 1680. The "Advertisement" announces that "Most of [these] Plays, &c. with divers Manuscripts on the same subjects are to be disposed of by N. Cox at his House over against the Angel in Oxon."<sup>60</sup> That the collection came onto the market at this time is probably further evidence that Kirkman was dead.<sup>61</sup>

Several aspects of Kirkman's life besides those noticed by previous writers are significant. To begin with, his career marks a definite stage in the evolution of the publisher. Though never admitted to the Stationers' Company, he engaged in all the activities of its members.<sup>62</sup> The medieval method of regulating a trade through its guild was finally breaking down; and, when such a man as Kirkman could remain outside the guild, other means of regulation had to be found; but not until the first Copyright Act of 1709 was there a serious attempt to put the relations of the Stationers' Company and the outside world on a satisfactory basis. Further, in issuing books "to be sold by most Book-sellers" at such times as he had

no shop himself, Kirkman showed that he was one of the first to realize that the functions of bookseller and publisher were not inseparable and that publishing alone could provide a means of livelihood. Finally, Kirkman deserves some credit as a pioneer in the publication of popular illustrated books. The later parts of *The English rogue*, *The unlucky citizen*, *Prince Erastus*, *Janua divorum*, and even *A course of catechising* were all generously illustrated by copperplates. Crude though these illustrations often are, Kirkman evidently took a pride in them; and not only is their quality better, but the books that contained them were cheaper, than similar works put out by other publishers.

As a man and a writer Kirkman hardly deserves the contempt poured on him by Chandler.<sup>63</sup> His account of himself, though undoubtedly partial, seems in the main to be reliable, and his writings have a certain engaging quality which makes it impossible to think too harshly of him. His prose is garrulous and slipshod, but never dull; it has the tang of popular speech and justifies his remark in the preface to the second part of *The English rogue*, "I have written as I would have spoken." His portrait, prefixed to *The unlucky citizen*, shows that his appearance was far from prepossessing, and his broken nose serves only to accentuate a general impression of vulgarity. Kirkman was clearly one of those self-assertive and loquacious men who are often shrewd and successful in their way but whose very overconfidence makes them fall easy victims to sharpers; hence, no doubt, his many misfortunes. Happy for him that he was irrepressible.

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<sup>60</sup> *Malone Society collections*, II, 235-36.

<sup>61</sup> Some of Kirkman's books probably passed into the hands of Gerard Langbaine the Younger, who, it is said, had for a time been Kirkman's apprentice and was doubtless indebted to Kirkman's collection for much of the reading on which his *Account of the English dramatic poets* (1691) was based.

Dr. J. Q. Adams has recently conjectured that Abraham Hill's list of manuscript plays may possibly have been made from those collected by Kirkman (see *Library*, XX [1939-40], 77-79).

<sup>62</sup> He could not, however, enter his publications in the Stationers' register; such of his books as were entered were entered by a partner or by the printer. On the other hand, his collaborator, Richard Head, who was a Stationer (admitted, according to the Stationers' register of freemen, on June 4, 1660) was able to copyright his own works and entered *The English rogue* on January 5, 1666/67.

<sup>63</sup> See above, n. 1.

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## POPE'S HORATIAN POEMS: PROBLEMS OF BIBLIOGRAPHY AND TEXT<sup>1</sup>

MAYNARD MACK

**A**MONG the small octavos into which Pope collected his poems during the last eight or nine years of his life, two editions of his Horatian pieces have special interest. One is the book numbered 507 in Professor Griffith's bibliography: "*The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq; Vol. II. Part II. . . . Printed for R. Dodsley, and sold by T. Cooper in Pater-noster-Row. MDCCXXXVIII.*" The other is an unrecorded edition, having almost the same title-page as No. 507, the same date in the imprint,<sup>2</sup> and the same poems in the same order but containing a later and amended text.<sup>3</sup> I shall refer to this new edition as No. 507x.<sup>4</sup>

Each of these editions is textually of some importance. No. 507 appears to be, for several of the Horatian poems, the source of the text published by Warburton in 1751. No. 507x, on the other hand, seems to offer for the same group of poems

the latest corrected text of the poet's life-time, which was merely reprinted in the final editions of 1740 and 1743. If these statements are correct (I shall present the evidence hereafter), Warburton did not use in 1751 the latest texts of about half the Horatian poems he was printing,<sup>5</sup> but returned instead to an intermediate version dating from 1738. This striking circumstance, the more striking in that Pope himself sufficiently approved the later text to retain it unamended in 1740 and 1743, demands a careful exploration farther on. For the moment it is necessary to re-examine the two editions of 1738 from another point of view.<sup>6</sup>

These 1738 editions are as significant bibliographically as textually. Remainder sheets of the unrecorded edition (No. 507x) were used, I find, in making up the recorded form of the 1740 edition of these poems (No. 524), and remainder sheets of

<sup>1</sup> References to line numbers in the Horatian poems discussed in this article are made to the edition of John Butt: *Imitations of Horace with . . . the epilogue to the Satires*, Vol. IV of the Twickenham edition of the *Poems of Alexander Pope* (London, 1939). The book numbers used are those given in Professor R. H. Griffith's *Alexander Pope: a bibliography*, Vol. I, Part II (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1927). The standard edition of Pope's works by Elwin and Courthope (10 vols.; London, 1871-89) is cited as E-C.

<sup>2</sup> Two slight differences appear in the imprint. No. 507x has the date in red ink; No. 507 has it in black. In No. 507x there is a comma after Pater-noster-Row; in No. 507 a period.

<sup>3</sup> No. 507x, though textually revised, was set up almost line by line from No. 507 and is therefore later. Its collation and pagination are normal: 4 leaves, A-K<sup>a</sup>, L<sup>a</sup>; 4 pages, [i]-[iv], 1-162, 2 pages. This book was certainly not published until 1739. See below, n. 32.

<sup>4</sup> I have seen two copies of this book. One is at the Bodleian, shelf mark 129. 1210. The other, now under my hand, belongs to Professor James M. Osborn of Yale, to whom I am indebted for the use of it.

<sup>5</sup> Specifically, in Warburton's Vol. IV, Epistles I, i and vi; II, i and ii; Parnell's imitation of Donne's third satire; and in Warburton's Vol. VI, Epistle I, vii; Satire II, vi; Ode IV, i. Warburton does not reprint Satire I, ii ("Sober advice").

<sup>6</sup> The outward similarity of Nos. 507 and 507x has, I think, led Mr. Butt to mistake the latter for the former. The book he numbers 507 in his textual notes seems to be really No. 507x. No. 507, I judge, he has not seen. At any rate, the group of textual variants which are peculiar to Warburton's edition and to the sheets of No. 507 are made to appear in Butt's edition as if they had first been published in 1751. It has, therefore, been impossible, without involving the reader in a great deal of confusion, to refer him to this edition for the textual variants discussed in the ensuing notes, and I have taken the liberty of listing them at each point.

Another text apparently overlooked by Mr. Butt is that of the quarto sheets. This has almost everywhere a modest value and in the case of the two dialogues of "One thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight" assumes real importance. See below, nn. 12, 14, 39.

No. 507 were incorporated in a variant issue of No. 524, which I shall call No. 524x.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the makeup of No. 507 is challenging in itself. Its sheets were plainly not designed, at the time of their first printing, to be assembled as they stand in the published book; and the evidence that they afford in signatures, pagination, and catchwords seems to me to clarify somewhat the ways in which Pope arrived at the satisfactory arrangement of his works which he described to Spence.<sup>8</sup> The complications of this evidence require me temporarily to immerse the

reader and myself in a morass of bibliographical details.

## I

As No. 507 now stands, its sheets and contents fall into the groups shown in the accompanying listing.<sup>9</sup> Groups U and V, the collation and pagination lead one to believe, were printed to accompany each other, though they cannot have been printed at the same time. Group U had been printed off by June 15, 1737,<sup>11</sup> shortly after the appearance in folio of Epistle II, i, which it contains.<sup>12</sup> Group V, on the

Group N	4 leaves	4 pp., [i]-[iv]	Half-title, title, 3 pages of contents, and one blank page
Group R	A <sup>8</sup> , M <sup>2</sup>	[1]-[20] (p. 20 is blank)	"One thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight," Dialogues I and II
Group T	A <sup>8</sup> , B (3 leaves)	[1]-[22] (p. 22 is blank)	Horatian Epistles, I, i and vi
Group U	B-D <sup>8</sup> , E <sup>4</sup>	[i]-iv, [5]-56	Horatian Epistles, II, i and ii; Ode, IV, i
Group V	F-G <sup>8</sup> , H <sup>2</sup>	[57]-92	Horatian Satire, II, vi; Epistle, I, vii; Satire, I, ii
Group X <sup>10</sup>	*K (7 leaves)	[151]-[64] (p. 164 is blank)	Donne's third satire, and Parnell's imitation of it, on facing pages
Group XY	2 leaves	4 pages	Half-title to "Miscellanies," Epitaph XI on Buckingham
Group Z	L <sup>4</sup>	161-68	Epitaphs XII ("On James Craggs, Esq.") and XIII ("For one who would not be buried in Westminster Abbey"); two epigrams; "Macer"; "Cloe"; "To Mrs. M. B. on her birth-day"; "The universal prayer"

<sup>7</sup> See below, pp. 42-44.

<sup>8</sup> Spence, *Anecdotes*, ed. S. W. Singer (1820), p. 266.

<sup>9</sup> I have departed from the "groups" given by Griffith, in order to make clearer the relationship between this book and another. See table on p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> The first leaf of this group is a cancel. See below, p. 38. The last leaf is blank and is not present in the Yale copy.

<sup>11</sup> See Griffith, p. 363, and the entry from Woodfall's account book in *Notes and queries*, XI (May, 1855), 377: "Mr. Lawton Gilliver and Co., Drs. June 15, 1737. Printing Epistles of Horace, 3 shts. 1/2, cr. 8vo., L. Prim., No. 1500, and 100 fine, 28s per sht. £4 18 0. Altering the last sht. to a half sht. £0 05 0. Had 16 r. sm. paper, 1 large, 20 quire. only 15 qu. used. 24." Woodfall adds that the bill was "Paid by Mr. Pope, June 2, 1738."

<sup>12</sup> The folio edition of Epistle II, i, was advertised as "this day published" in the *London evening-post*, May 19, 1737. The poem may have been printed earlier, however, for in January, 1737, Orrery was expecting its appearance "soon" (Butt, p. xxv, n. 3), and there is a quarto printing of the poem which contains a state of the text intermediate between that published in the folio (May 19, 1737) and that printed in Group U of No. 507 (June 15, 1737).

In most instances the quarto text follows the folio, but in l. 1 of the "Advertisement" it prefers *his Epistle* to *this Epistle*, as does Group U, and in l. 227 it alters *brand* to *lash*, which in Group U is restored to *brand*. (The quarto *lash* is the only quarto variant in any of the Horatian texts which Butt's apparatus records.) The Group U text, on the other hand, has several revisions contained in all subsequent printings, but not present in the folio or quarto; in the "Advertisement," l. 14: *other, that for other to imagine, and was only for*

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other hand, can hardly have been set up prior to the folio printing of *Satire II*, vi, which was not published until the first of March, 1738.<sup>13</sup> Group T also must have

to be; in the poem itself, l. 195: *Mobs for Fires*; l. 215: *stains for strains*; l. 310: *What dear delight To Britons Farce affords for For Farce the people true delight affords* (quarto: *people's instead of people*). Group U has also some variants peculiar to itself and Warburton's edition. See below, n. 38.

Epistle II, ii, the second poem contained in Group U, was published in folio in late April, 1737. It also had an intermediate quarto printing, though the quarto in this instance follows the text of the folio exactly. Revisions introduced for the first time by the Group U text and retained in later editions are: l. 25: *that for who*; l. 87: *Dartineuf for Dar—n—f*; l. 150: *court for seek*; l. 168: *Words, that for Such, as*; l. 198: *plain for then* (Butt italicizes "plain," but I do not know on what authority); l. 209: *the for my*. In this poem there are no readings peculiar to itself and Group U text and Warburton's.

The third poem in Group U is Pope's imitation of *Ode IV*, 1. The quarto printing again follows the folio exactly, and the only new reading passed on to later editions by Group U is *thy for the* in l. 5. One trivial variant peculiar to this and the 1751 text will be found in n. 38.

The quarto printing so often referred to above consists of a group of sheets signed A-K<sup>4</sup> and one leaf signed L, which contain Epistles II, i and ii, followed by four unsigned leaves, which contain the *Ode*. Though it is clear from their intermediate text that these sheets must have been printed at some time between the folios and Group U, i.e., in the late spring of 1737, they were not published, so far as I know, until the spring of 1738 (*Daily advertiser*, April 27), when they appeared as part of a quarto edition of the more recent Horatian imitations (Griffith, No. 490). There is a book in the Harvard Library which contains these sheets with a title-page dated 1737. But this is a made-up volume including remainder sheets from No. 338 (the quarto *Essay on man* of 1734) and from No. 372 (the seven "Ethic epistles" excerpted from the quarto *Works* of 1735), as well as a frontispiece portrait dated 1738. As evidence it is therefore valueless, and I suspect that its 1737 title-page was printed off to accompany various assortments of Pope's poems which in that year and subsequently were made up to "compleat the setts" of purchasers who had most of Pope's works in the quarto size. It is quite possible that sheets of No. 490 may have been released privately in this way before they were actually published and put on general sale in 1738.

<sup>13</sup> Textual evidence as to priority is not available in this instance. Epistle I, vii, of Group V had no separate edition, and the revised Group V text of *Satire I*, ii, proves nothing except that it is later than the folios of 1734-35 (Griffith, Nos. 347, 356). As for *Satire II*, vi, the Group V text is here identical with that of the separate folio, inverted commas around ll. 177-78 constituting the only significant addition in Group V. These commas were, however, retained in subsequent editions and suggest, along with our knowledge of Pope's habits and of printing-house practice,

been set up after the folio printings of its contents, Epistles I, i and vi, which were first published in March and January of that year.<sup>14</sup> Its last leaf is a half-title to Epistle II, i, showing that it was printed to go with Group U.<sup>15</sup> Thus the collocation of T, U, and V is a grouping that gradually took shape around Group U in the early months of 1738.<sup>16</sup>

That the separate folio printing must antedate the collected octavo one. At the same time, the close agreement of the folio and Group V texts warrants the suspicion that the two printings were made fairly close together (evidence as to the date will be found in n. 16), for at its next appearance in No. 507x this satire bore a number of revisions. I do not list these revisions here, since the reader may find them without confusion in Butt's edition if he recalls that the variants given there from No. 507 are really from No. 507x and that there were no variants in the genuine No. 507. By a precisely contrary device the reader may trace the textual history of *Satire I*, ii, which, though it was fully revised for No. 507, was not further altered for No. 507x, on which Butt is drawing. None of these poems was issued or collected in quarto.

<sup>14</sup> Epistle I, vi, was advertised as "this day published" in the *London evening-post*, January 21-24, 1738. The announcement cited by Professor Griffith from the *Literary courier of Grub-street* for January 23, I do not find in that paper until January 26.

Variants in the Group V text not found in the folio are: l. 56: *See Ward by batter'd Beaus for Rather than so, see Ward*; l. 110: *your for our*; l. 120: *Chartres for Charters*; l. 121: *K—l's for K—s*. In all these variants except that of l. 120 the Group V text is anticipated by the quarto text.

Epistle I, i, was published in folio on March 7, 1738, but probably printed before the close of 1737. See the date on the title and Straus's *Dodsley*, p. 318. For this poem the quarto text is more plainly intermediate. It anticipates the readings of Group V and all later texts in: l. 1: *St. John for S\**; l. 10: *Brunswick's for Br—s*; l. 15: *or force for and force*. Additional variants first introduced by Group V are: l. 88: *Dorimant for Bestia fain*; l. 112: *S\* for S\**. Readings peculiar to Group V and Warburton will be found in n. 38.

The quarto text referred to is another group of sheets first published in Griffith's No. 490. See above, n. 12. This group is signed B-F<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Leaf B<sup>4</sup>, the last leaf of Group T, was originally printed as a half-title to Group U, as was also the first leaf of Group U. The binder in combining the Groups excised one or the other. In Professor Griffith's copy leaf B<sup>4</sup> of Group U has been excised; in the Yale copy, leaf B<sup>4</sup> of Group T. To avoid confusion, I have described the collation of the Yale copy in the table on p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> An entry in Woodfall's accounts not mentioned by Professor Griffith leads me to believe that Groups T and V were in print by February 10, 1738. On that date Woodfall records: "Alexander Pope, Esq., Dr.

This leaves unaccounted for Groups R, X, XY, and Z. Groups R and X, it appears, were at one time planned for inclusion in an edition of the *Works*, Volume II, Part I, which, however long it may have been in the making, was not published until the end of January, 1739. The verso of the last leaf of Group Q in this edition (No. 505)<sup>17</sup> bears the catchword "ONE," indicating that Group R of No. 507 was intended to follow here; and another catchword, "THE THIRD," on the verso of the last leaf of Group W shows where Group X of No. 507 was originally to be placed. A third catchword, "THE FIRST," after Group S shows that

Printing Epistles of Horace, 3 shts. (as 4 shts.), No. 1500: and 100 fine at 28s. pr. sht. £5 12 0. Five reams of cr. paper, and 15 quire, at 8s. £2 06 0. 11½ quire fine writing paper. £0 14 0." There are subsequent notations to the effect that only 16 quires of the fine paper were used, five and a half being "left of t'other," and that the bill was "Paid, June 2, 1738."

On several counts this entry seems to be related to the entry of June 15, 1737, cited above in n. 11. The number of copies, fine and ordinary, is in both instances the same, and both bills were paid on the same date. Furthermore, the two notations respecting paper look as if they were part of a single prolonged transaction. If Woodfall started in June, 1737, with sixteen reams of small paper (8,256 sheets), as he says, and printed fifteen hundred copies of three and a half sheets each, he would have used all but about five and four-fifths reams (3,006 sheets), allowing nothing for wastage. To print the second order of February, 1738, he would have required a total of just under eleven reams (5,625 sheets), and it is noteworthy that the five reams and fifteen quires which he purchased (2,940 sheets) is almost exactly the amount needed to make up the difference between his surplus from the earlier printing (3,006) sheets and his requirements for the new (5,625 sheets).

A similar relationship can be traced in the case of the fine paper. Here he would have used in the June printing slightly over fourteen and a half quires, leaving him from his original stock of twenty about five and a half quires. (I am taking his notation of "1 large, 20 quire" to mean a ream of fine paper containing twenty quires, as distinguished from the reams of small paper which were probably the standard printer's ream containing twenty-one and a half.) He needed for the February printing a total of about fifteen and two-thirds quires (as it turned out, sixteen), and it is again remarkable that the amount of his purchase was eleven and a half quires, or a fairly close approximation to the difference between his June surplus and his February needs. If we assume that in calculating for his February purchases Woodfall was reckoning by the rough estimate of surplus set down in the June en-

Groups U and V, and perhaps Group T, of No. 507 were also to have been included in this edition. Had the book been issued as planned, it must have had some such makeup as that suggested in the accompanying table. The sheets actually present in No. 505 are Groups O, P, Q, S, W, and Y, as listed in the table. The other groups of sheets in the table are those which were published in 507 but which are shown by the catchwords of No. 505 to have been intended originally to accompany Groups Q, S, and W of that edition. The hypothetical groups are indented far to the right in the table, and the catch-

try ("only 15 qu. used," i.e., five quires remaining instead of five and a half), the relationship becomes even more exact: the supposed stock on hand (five quires) supplements almost perfectly the quantity purchased, and the actual stock on hand (five and a half quires) matches perfectly the figure Woodfall found he had "left of t'other."

All things considered, it would appear that the two accounts refer to a continuing transaction, and that, if the June entry concerns Group U, as Professor Griffith has indicated, the February entry must concern the groups most intimately related to it: T and V. These groups, moreover, answer handsomely to Woodfall's description, for they not only contain "Epistles of Horace," as no other extant sheets of this date do, but they add up precisely to the three and three-quarters sheets specified in the bill: Group T (A<sup>4</sup>B<sup>4</sup>), comprising one and one-half sheets, and Group V (F-G<sup>4</sup>, H<sup>2</sup>), two and one-quarter. The extra labor entailed by the separation into groups and the alteration of the final sheets to half-sheets and quarter-sheets would account for the charges on them "as [for] 4 shts."

The assignment of Groups T and V to February 10, 1738, makes it possible to date with more accuracy the folio text of the one piece in Group V which had separate publication (Satire II, vi, published March 1) and the intermediate quarto texts of the epistles in Group T (I, i and vi, published in No. 490 on April 27). If all three of these poems, as it now appears, had been printed in octavo by February 10, the most plausible date for the folio text of the satire will be very shortly before February 10 (above, n. 13), and the most plausible date for the quarto texts of the epistles will be sometime between February 10 and either the preceding January 14, when Pope registered copyright in Epistle I, vi, or the preceding January 24, when this epistle was published in folio. The folio text of the Epistle I, i, though not published until March 7, had been in print for some time (above, n. 14).

<sup>17</sup> For the collation of this edition, see the table on p. 37.

Group T,	words of all groups are given still farther	are in both the same: A <sup>4</sup> , A-D <sup>8</sup> , A-K <sup>8</sup>	
cluded	to the right, in capitals.	(8 pages, [1]-58, 6 pages, 1-96, [107]-54,	
issued	Groups XY and Z now remain to be ac-	145-60). On pages 152-60 in each (leaves	
e such	counted for, along with the pagination of	K <sup>4v-8v</sup> ) appear the epitaphs, num-	
recom-	Group X, which is certainly no better	bered I-XI. Group Z of No. 507, it	
pres-	Group O 2 leaves 4 pages	Title and pref-	
S, W,		ace	
other	Group P *A <sup>8</sup>	[1]-[16] (p. 16	Five congratu-
those		is blank)	latory poems
ch are	Group Q A-K <sup>8</sup>	[1]-[160] (pp.	"Essay on
505 to		159-60 are	man" and
recom-		blank)	eleven epis-
dition.			cles
ed far	Group R	A <sup>8</sup> , M <sup>2</sup> [1]-[20]	"One thousand seven
catch-			hundred and thirty-
			eight," Dialogues I
			and II
	Group S A <sup>8</sup> , B <sup>4</sup> , C <sup>2</sup>	[1]-28	Satires II, i
			and ii
	Group T	A <sup>8</sup> , B (3 leaves)	Epistles I, i and vi
		[1]-[22]	
	Group U	B-D <sup>8</sup> , E <sup>4</sup> [i]-	Epistles II, i and ii;
		iv, [5]-56	Ode IV, i
	Group V	F-G <sup>8</sup> , H <sup>2</sup> [57]-	Satire II, vi; Epistle I,
		92	vii; Satire I, ii
	Group W H-I <sup>8</sup>	[79]-110	Pope's imita-
			tions of
			Donne's sec-
			ond and
			fourth sat-
			ires
	Group X	*K (7 leaves)	Parnell's imitation of
		[151]-[64]	Donne's third satire
	Group Y *L <sup>6</sup>	[150]-[61] (p.	FINIS
		161 is	ON JAMES
		blank)	
	Group Z	L <sup>4</sup> 161-68	Epitaphs XII, XIII;
			short pieces; and
			"The universal
			prayer"
			FINIS

suited to its intended position in No. 505 than to its actual position in No. 507. One must turn, I think, for an explanation of these groups to two small octavo editions of the *Works*, Volume II, published in 1735 and 1736. The later of these (No. 430) is a reprint of the earlier one (No. 389), and the collations and pagination will be recalled, begins with Epitaph XII on Craggs; and, if this group is placed after sheet K in Nos. 389 or 430, it will be seen to suit its position in contents, collation, and pagination. Since there is no other known edition in which it will fit at all, I think it not unreasonable to conclude that this group was planned to

accompany remainder sheets of Nos. 389 or 430, or some intended reprinting of these sheets.<sup>18</sup>

A similar assumption will account for Group X. This group, as the asterisk shows, was printed to be inserted in some existing sheet K. It contains Parnell's versification of Donne's third satire and so must have been intended to accompany Pope's own imitations of that poet. Curiously enough, its first leaf (\*K<sup>1</sup>) is a cancel in a sheet intended for insertion. What can have been on the original \*K<sup>1</sup> which had to be excised before the sheet could be issued with No. 507? Again, I think, the answer lies in Nos. 389 and 430. In these editions the imitation of Donne's fourth satire ends on leaf K<sup>4</sup> recto (p. 151, second series), the leaf on the verso of which the epitaphs begin. If one were to insert sheet \*K<sup>8</sup> after leaf K<sup>3</sup>, the numbering of the first page of the insert (151) would follow regularly upon the numbering of leaf K<sup>3</sup> (149-50), the asterisked signature \*K would be a normal consequence of inserting the new sheet in the existing K, and

<sup>18</sup> It should be noted, however, that, since Group Z contains "The universal prayer," it is not likely to have been printed earlier than June 22, 1738, when this poem was published in folio. Just how much later it was printed remains a question. Only one revision of the folio text was made for Group Z: l. 8: *that for I*. Three additional changes appear in the 1740 edition (No. 523): l. 12: *Left free the human will for Left conscience free, and Will*; l. 29: *oh teach my heart for thy grace impart*; l. 31: *thy grace impart for oh teach my heart*. The variants of ll. 29 and 31 seem at first glance genuine, in that they bring to the stanza a peculiar theological refinement; but they are not retained in the 1751 text by Warburton and may be a compositor's error.

None of the other short pieces in Group Z had folio publication. "To Mrs. M. B. on her birth-day" seems to have been here first printed in this, its final form (E-C, IV, 495, n. 1). "Cloe. A character" first appeared in Group Z and was reprinted in Nos. 507x, 523, and 583. One textual change in l. 8 (*Decency for Decencies*) was introduced by No. 507x and retained in No. 523; but, as it removes all subtlety from the line, I suspect it, too, is a compositor's error. At any rate when this whole piece was assimilated into the epistle "On the characters of women" as ll. 157-80, the reading was restored to *Decencies*. At the same time l. 2 (l. 158 of the epistle) was altered from "Tis true, but something in her was forgot" to "Nature in her then err'd not, but forgot."

the Donne translation by Parnell would accompany, as it ought to do, the Donne translations by Mr. Pope. Leaf K<sup>4</sup>, moreover, would have had to be excised, since on its verso the epitaphs commenced, and the concluding verses of the Donne imitation which occupied its recto would therefore have had to be reprinted. What more natural than to reset this matter on the first page of the inserted sheet? This page could not be used for the beginning of the Donne-Parnell third satire because original and imitation must face each other. It could, on the other hand, be used to replace the matter on the recto of the excised K<sup>4</sup>. Assuming that this is what actually happened, we have at once an explanation of the cancel \*K<sup>1</sup>. The original \*K<sup>1</sup>, with the closing lines of Donne IV on its recto, could not possibly be used when it was decided to include this sheet in No. 507. It was therefore canceled, and the present leaf printed off with the opening lines of Donne III (Donne's own lines) on its verso and a half-title to this satire on the recto.<sup>19</sup>

But now what of Group XY? To understand this group it is necessary to turn to Group Y of No. 505. Group Y comprises the first six leaves of a sheet signed \*L. Its pages are misnumbered 150-61, instead of 149-60 or 151-62, as they should be. It contains ten epitaphs, No. X on Newton appearing on the recto of leaf \*L<sup>6</sup>. At the bottom of this page are the catchwords "ON JAMES." This can only mean that the intended paging of these leaves was 149-60 and that they were printed to precede Group Z of No. 507 (L<sup>4</sup>, pp. 161-68), in which the first piece is Epitaph XII, "On James Craggs,

<sup>19</sup> Parnell's imitation was printed only in Group X and in No. 507x during Pope's lifetime. Warburton included the imitation in his edition but omitted the Donne original. One revision is made in No. 507x (l. 126: "By these can souls" for "Or must it so"), and one curious error has crept into the text of Donne's own lines (l. 8: *more for as*).

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Esq." But the precise reason for printing these leaves is less easy to determine. Possibly, if it can be explained at all, it arose out of the decision to insert sheet \*K<sup>s</sup> in the way described above. This entailed, as we saw, the discarding of leaf K<sup>4</sup> of No. 430, having the first epitaph on its verso. Faced with the necessity of reprinting one leaf of the epitaphs, Pope may have decided to reprint them all; and he may have done so in order to eliminate No. VII on Kneller, which he told Spence he believed the worst piece he ever wrote<sup>20</sup> and which he never readmitted into any edition of his works. At all events, whether or not this is the proper explanation, the six leaves of \*L were printed off with only ten epitaphs, intended, as the catchwords show, to precede sheet L<sup>4</sup> (Group Z of No. 507). Into the gap thus left between Epitaph X on leaf \*L<sup>s</sup> and Epitaph XII on leaf L<sup>1</sup>, Pope introduced at some later time the two leaves of Group XY, the first serving as half-title to "Miscellanies," the second containing a new epitaph numbered XI, "On Edward Duke of Buckingham."<sup>21</sup>

## II

Before leaving the bibliographical questions involved in No. 507, it may be helpful to try to place these sheets in some chronological relationship and to see what can be learned from them regarding Pope's intentions for the arrangement of his works in the small octavo size. He had told Orrery in the autumn of 1735 that he was planning a new and more complete collection;<sup>22</sup> but, when the edition of

1736<sup>23</sup> appeared, it proved to be a simple reprint of the previous two. The preparation of Group U, on the other hand, complete by June 15, 1737, is a sign that plans of some sort were taking shape. Woodfall was the printer of this group and seems to have been commissioned by Gilliver, not by Pope; but the latter must have had a hand in the transaction because these sheets were being printed from a corrected text.<sup>24</sup> Apparently at this point Dodsley intervened (who had registered the copyright in two of the poems concerned), and the sheets were held back for about a year, until June 2, 1738, when Pope acquired ownership of them by paying Woodfall's bill.<sup>25</sup>

The purchase of these sheets in the early summer of 1738 suggests that the project of a new edition was being seriously entertained at about this time. On the evidence of the contents and catchwords of No. 505 the earliest intention was to combine the materials of 1735 with the pieces that had been written since. Two or three stages can be traced, however, in the growth of this intention; and, though purely hypothetical, they may be worth recording because they help to clarify the ways in which No. 505 and other editions of the *Works*, Volume II, came to their published form. One possible stage, the earliest, in the evolution of the new edition would have been a book incorporating remainder sheets of Nos. 389 or 430 with Group U<sup>26</sup>—or, later, with Groups T,

<sup>20</sup> *Anecdotes*, p. 165.

<sup>21</sup> This epitaph was first printed, so far as I know, in Group XY, though Buckingham had died in 1735; and the lines may eventually be found in some contemporary newspaper. When next printed in No. 507x, *Parent's* in l. 3 was altered to *Mother's*. Oddly enough, the editions of 1740 and 1743 (Nos. 523 and 583) return to *Parent's*. Warburton also prints *Parent's*.

<sup>22</sup> Pope to Orrery, October 8, 1735 (E-C, VIII, 372).

<sup>23</sup> Griffith, No. 430. Above, pp. 37-38.

<sup>24</sup> Above, nn. 12, 14; below, nn. 38, 39.

<sup>25</sup> Above, n. 11, and Griffith, p. 363.

<sup>26</sup> The evidence of the Woodfall episode seems to be that Gilliver and/or Pope intended to publish Group U until opposed by Dodsley, who did not want an octavo printing of the two epistles and ode to undercut the sale of his folios. The natural inference from this is that the octavo sheets were to be issued with copies of the octavo *Works*, Vol. II, published by Gilliver, and this in turn I take to mean that sheets of the octavo *Works* were still on hand in 1737. The fact that three large editions of the octavo *Works* had been



U, and V.<sup>27</sup> A second stage, supposing there is any accuracy in the speculations advanced earlier in this paper, would have called for the use of these remainder sheets as far as leaf K<sup>3</sup>, followed by Groups X, Y, and Z, and these in turn, perhaps, by Groups T, U, and V.<sup>28</sup> Exhaustion of the

published in 1735 and 1736 (Nos. 388, 389, 430) favors this supposition, and so does the planning of Groups X, Y, and Z, already described. There is some slight additional evidence, perhaps, in the set of his works which Pope gave to Orrery in 1738. This set was sold at Sotheby's on July 24, 1939; and, if the Sotheby catalogue is to be trusted, the *Works*, Vol. II, in this set can be only No. 388 or No. 389. Since each volume bears Orrery's notation "Orrery. The Gift of the Author, 1738," there is proof here that at least one copy of No. 389 or 430 was to be had in 1738. See, also, among the books to be had from T. Cooper on May 8, 1738 (*Daily advertiser*): "Mr. Pope's Works, the second volume in 8 vo. containing his [Ethic] Epistles and Satires."

<sup>27</sup> As suggested in the preceding note, Gilliver seems to have been planning an edition embodying Group U in June, 1737. The printing of the last leaf of Group T as a half-title to Group U shows that it was prepared as a companion to this group; and, as we have seen, it was probably in type by February 10, 1738. Group V was also printed at this time, so that what the first stage comprehends chronologically is the period from June, 1737, to February, 1738, and what it comprehends bibliographically is the three groups containing the poet's more recent "Imitations."

<sup>28</sup> Groups X, Y, and Z are the groups which collation, pagination, and contents show were planned with sheets of Nos. 389 or 430 in mind. Group Z, normal in every respect, was, I am quite sure, printed first. Group X, the asterisked sheet \*K<sup>3</sup>, must then have been printed second, since, if it had been prepared before Group Z, the pagination of the latter would certainly have been made to follow that of the new sheet \*K<sup>3</sup> rather than that of the original sheet K. Group Y is therefore third in time, having apparently been printed off to restore the epitaphs, of which the first leaf K<sup>3</sup> had to be excised from the original sheet K when the new sheet \*K<sup>3</sup> was inserted. Group XY also belongs to this stage bibliographically, though it is impossible to say when it was printed. Epitaph XI, on the second leaf, leads one to believe it was planned to fill the gap between Epitaph X on leaf \*L<sup>3</sup> of Group Y and Epitaph XII on leaf L<sup>3</sup> of Group Z; in which case it must have been printed off while the intention was still to include Groups Y and Z in the same volume. On the other hand, the half-title "Miscellanies" on its first leaf (the catchword of which shows that it was definitely intended to precede Epitaph XI) suggests that the group may not have been prepared until after the decision to publish the new edition in two separate volumes. Then, with the ten epitaphs of Group Y allocated to No. 505, and the twelfth and thirteenth epitaphs and other short pieces of Group Z left dangling at the rear of No. 507, it may have seemed desirable to

remainder sheets would account for a third stage, in which reprinting of the old materials would make possible an improved arrangement.<sup>29</sup> At this stage (see No. 505) Groups Q, S, and W contain the reprinted matter, Groups S and W being planned to permit the collection in one place of the Horatian imitations (i.e., Groups S, T, U, and V) followed immediately by the imitations of Donne (W and X).<sup>30</sup> This stage is the projected form of

explain the situation with the half-title "Miscellanies." In that event the group could not have been printed until late in 1738. See below, n. 30.

Chronologically, the four groups of this second stage must all post-date June 22, 1738, since the earliest of them (Z) contains a slightly revised text of "The universal prayer," which had appeared in folio on that date. The folio may of course have been printed earlier, and if it was, Group Z may also have been. But this seems unlikely. Pope was probably just beginning to lay plans for the new edition by early June, when he bought the sheets of Groups T, U, and V from Woodfall; and one fancies that, in going over his pieces to see what was on hand, he ran onto "The universal prayer," parts of which had been composed much earlier (Sherburn, *The early career of Alexander Pope* [1934], p. 61), finished or revised the poem, and decided to issue it in folio before including it in the omnibus octavo edition.

<sup>29</sup> Exhaustion of the sheets of Nos. 389 and 430 does not necessarily mean that any of them had been issued in such hypothetical books as the ones described under stages one and two. They can have been used up in perfectly normal copies of Nos. 389 or 430, which were possibly still being issued and sold (see above, n. 26); they can have been burned or otherwise accidentally disposed of in the printer's shop; or they can, by some change of plans on Pope's part, have been consigned to an entirely different use, now unknown. If sheets of Nos. 389 or 430 were ever actually issued with Group U or any of the groups so far discussed, all copies have disappeared. I question whether they were ever so issued.

<sup>30</sup> Bibliographically, the third stage involves only the reprinting in Groups Q, S, and W of the matter contained in earlier editions (Nos. 389 and 430). Chronologically, however, it depends upon Group R, for the catchword of Group Q shows that it was intended to precede Group R. If we can date the printing of R, therefore, we shall at least have a *terminus a quo* for the reprinted groups. (Though groups S and W also have catchwords, they show only that these groups were printed later than Groups U—or T—and X.)

Group R, which contains the two dialogues of "One thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight," might have been prepared at any time after the folio publication of the second of these dialogues in July, 1738. But there is also a quarto printing of the two dialogues, not published until January 11, 1739 (Griffith, No. 504), of

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No. 505 already described, and can hardly have been arrived at before the late autumn of 1738.<sup>31</sup>

Between this time and the end of January in the new year it apparently occurred to Pope or to his publishers that it would be wiser to divide the new edition into two volumes. One (No. 505) would be in contents substantially the same book as the editions of 1735 and 1736, aimed at purchasers who had not already acquired one of these. The other (No. 507), an edition of "all such Pieces of this Author as

were written since the former Volumes, and never before publish'd in Octavo," would be vendible as a companion volume either to the editions of 1735 and 1736 or to the new edition out of which it sprang. Accordingly, the sheets of the projected single volume were reshuffled into two. No. 505, the "new" edition, was released late in January, 1739, while No. 507, containing all the later pieces, though probably in circulation by the close of 1738, was held back until May, 1739.<sup>32</sup>

which the text is intermediate between that of the folios and that of Group R. This would seem to suggest, on the face of it, that Group R cannot be earlier than late January, 1739. Other evidence, however, implies that it was in existence before the end of 1738. This evidence is Orrery's presentation set, in which one volume (I am again relying on the Sotheby description of it) is probably No. 507 and must therefore contain, one assumes, Group R. Orrery dated each volume 1738, it will be recalled; and, if his general correspondence can be trusted, he was not one to use 1738 when he meant 1738/9. Furthermore, at just the close of 1738, at some time between December 20 and January 2 (E-C, VIII, 407, and *The Orrery papers* [London, 1903], I, 249), Orrery had seen Pope in London. If, as seems not improbable, the presentation was made on this occasion and if the date in the volumes can be taken at face value, Group R may have been in existence by the end of 1738.

How long before this can Group R have been printed off? Probably not very long. Between the folio and quarto texts of the dialogues extensive revisions have been made (below, n. 39), and this fact combines with the very late publication of the quarto to suggest a considerable lapse of time between the publication of the folios in May and July and the printing of the quarto sheets. Supposing, then, that the quarto sheets were printed off in the late autumn of 1738, the printing of Group R, which is only very slightly revised as to text, is probably to be placed just after this but before the end of the year.

Group R, it has been mentioned, was in existence at the time Group T was printed. Furthermore, the reshuffling of contents that took place when the materials of Nos. 389 and 430 were reprinted in Groups Q, S, and W is of such sort that all three of these groups had to be planned at the same time. All three groups, therefore, must have been printed after Group R, i.e., at some date between the late autumn of 1738 and January 29, 1739, when they were published in No. 505. The *terminus a quo* can perhaps be drawn even closer. When Pope gave Orrery the presentation set in late December (if he did give it then), the edition of the "Essay on man" and miscellaneous epistles which he included was the edition of 1735 (Nos. 388 or 389). One fancies that if the new edition had been in existence (No. 505), he would have given him this book instead. It may be, therefore, that the printing of

Groups Q, S, and W can be placed not merely after Group R and before January 29 but after Orrery's visit in late December and before January 29.

There is one troubling feature here. As the catchwords show (see n. 18), the decision to publish the new edition in two volumes instead of one had not yet been made when Group Q was being prepared to precede Group R and Groups S and W to precede Groups T and X; yet, at the very same period, if our suppositions are correct, Pope had a copy of No. 507 bound up to give Orrery. It is possible to explain this, of course, by saying that Pope wished to include in the presentation set his newer pieces and that, since he may not have been able to provide a copy of the new edition because Groups Q, S, and W were still at press, he assembled the other sheets for Orrery (as perhaps of late weeks for a number of friends?) and so produced the book we call No. 507.

Other possible explanations may be that No. 507 is not contained in the set sold at Sotheby's; or that Orrery's 1738 does stand for 1738/9. But I am not well satisfied with either these or my own explanations.

<sup>31</sup> I have omitted from this discussion the peculiarities of Group W, which, despite a specious kinship in pagination with Groups T and U (i.e., pp. 1-22 + 1-56 [= 78] + 79-110), was probably planned to fit some still undiscovered sequence and has no real bibliographical or chronological connection with the other groups. I have also omitted from discussion the congratulatory poems of Group P, which may have been designed, like Groups X, Y, and Z, to accompany remainder sheets of Nos. 389 or 430 or the newly printed Group Q. From internal evidence I should say that the fifth of the congratulatory poems was composed after the appearance of Pope's Epistle II, I, from which it seems to adopt its panegyrical-satirical tone.

<sup>32</sup> A book announced as "this day published" in the *Daily advertiser* of May 4, 1739, is either No. 507 or No. 507x, but it is impossible to be sure which. (Griffith's date for No. 507 arises from a misinterpretation of an entry in Straus's *Dodsley*, p. 321, which really applies to the 1740 edition, No. 524, announced as "just published" in the *Daily advertiser* of May 9 in that year.) On the grounds that No. 507 may have been circulating toward the close of 1738 (above, n. 30) and that all its sheets excepting Group R had probably

Nevertheless, useful as these editions may have been to contemporary purchasers of Pope's poetry, they represented a far from suitable disposition of his works. No. 505, as a new edition of the old materials, had been permitted to remain a heterogeneous collocation of ethic epistles, epitaphs, and imitations. No. 507, on the other hand, consisting largely of Horatian imitations, contained also Parnell's paraphrase of Donne together with such epitaphs and shorter pieces as had not previously appeared in collected editions of Pope's poems. At some time, therefore, in late 1739 (or early 1740) Pope began to revise the makeup of No. 505. In an issue of the sheets of this edition not listed by Griffith, Groups S and W have been omitted and Group Z added at the end.<sup>33</sup> The earlier imitations of Horace and those of Donne are thus excluded from the book, and all the epitaphs and shorter pieces brought properly together. That this was

been in print for many months, it would be convenient to place its publication in early 1739 and to assign the May 4 advertisement to the reprint, No. 507x. And it may be that this is right. But the publication of the May book was accompanied by a good deal of advertising (*Daily advertiser*, April 30, May 4, 7; *London evening-post*, April 26-28, May 5-8, 10-12, 12-15; *Craftsman*, May 19, 26; etc.), as well as the mention of copies on royal paper, all of which inclines me to believe that we have to do with an "important" edition like No. 507, of which I have seen such copies, and not with a reprint, even though a revised reprint, of which no such copies have survived. There may be a slight bit of evidence, moreover, that the text of No. 507x is later than May 4. In l. 90 of Epistle I. 1, *Wretched Bug* is a change from *Bug* and *D<sup>91</sup>* of the same line in No. 507. If *D<sup>91</sup>*, as Croker thought, is a reference to Francis Scott, Earl of Delorain, the alteration is easily explicable on account of Delorain's death, May 11, 1739; and this would mean in turn that No. 507x was printed later than May 4.

<sup>33</sup> The makeup of the book is thus Group O, Group Q (P has also been omitted), Group Y, Group Z. In Group O the title is a newly printed leaf, though nothing has been changed on the title except the ornament, and Group Z is all newly printed. The only variants I discover between the new and old printings of Group Z are a catchword supplied at the bottom of p. 161 and a period wrongly replaced by a comma at p. 164, l. 6.

I have seen two copies: one in the Yale library and one in the British Museum, shelf mark 686.d.18.

done by design and not by accident is shown in the fact that the succeeding editions of 1740 and 1743 (*Works*, Vol. II, Part I [Nos. 523 and 583]) were patterned on the altered issue and not on the original No. 505.

Similar rearrangements were made in the contents of the 1740 edition of the *Works*, Volume II, Part II (No. 524). This time all the imitations, both old and new, were gathered in one volume. The specifically Horatian imitations were placed together at the beginning, followed by the imitations of Donne; and the whole was brought to a swelling close by the two dialogues of "One thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight," now for the first time entitled "Epilogue to the Satires." The interesting feature of this edition, however, is not primarily the redistribution of the contents but the fact that it was issued in two forms and that these two forms have different texts. The question as to how this came about brings us at once to some of the textual complications referred to at the opening of this paper.

### III

The two octavo editions of the Horatian poems printed in 1738 and (?) 1739 (Nos. 507 and 507x) have, as stated, variant texts of most of the poems they contain. Pope, who seldom let slip an opportunity to revise, not only altered the texts of the first editions before reprinting them in No. 507<sup>34</sup> but altered them again before reprinting them a second time, in No. 507x.<sup>35</sup> In preparing the 1740 edition, on

<sup>34</sup> He usually revised them also before reprinting them in the intermediate quarto texts. In the time sequence, however, I have omitted the quarto printings for the sake of clarity. The textual revisions introduced by the quarto sheets and by No. 507 are listed in nn. 12 and 14, with the exception of those found in the two dialogues of "One thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight," which may be examined in n. 39.

<sup>35</sup> The textual revisions introduced by No. 507x can be gathered by consulting Butt's textual apparatus, provided the reader remembers that the edition referred to as No. 507 is, in fact, No. 507x, and bears

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the other hand, though he corrected three of the four earlier imitations,<sup>36</sup> which, as we have seen, he was collecting for the first time in a single volume with the newer ones, and corrected also the texts of the two dialogues which under their amended title "Epilogue" were being shifted to the rear, Pope made no revisions in the other pieces. An examination of the sheets of this edition explains why. The six poems mentioned just above are, one finds, contained on newly printed sheets, whereas all the other poems are contained on remainder sheets either from the edition of 1738 (No. 507) or from the revised reprint (No. 507x). In other words, the 1740 edition has two issues, each of them partly but not entirely a reissue of an earlier edition. At the opening of the book, where the two earliest Horatian imitations appear, and again at the close, where Pope placed his paraphrases of Donne and his "Epilogue," the two issues are exactly the same, having the same newly printed and corrected text. In the body of the book, however, where the one has sheets and accordingly a 1739 (?) text from No. 507x, the other has sheets and a 1738 text from No. 507. The issue with the 1740-38 text, not hitherto noticed, I have already referred to as No. 524x.<sup>37</sup>

The book that Pope chose to reprint in the last edition of his lifetime (No. 584) was No. 524 and not No. 524x. This

seems natural enough, since No. 524 obviously contained both the latest text of the new printed pieces and the latest text of the poems on the remainder sheets. What seems far less natural is that Warburton's 1751 edition did not follow the text either of the final 1743 edition or of No. 524. On the contrary, it derived its text from No. 524x. There are several reasons for believing this to be the case. In the first place, certain variant readings appearing in No. 507 and consequently, of course, in 524x reappear in Warburton's text and nowhere else.<sup>38</sup> In the second place, only Warburton and No. 524x have a text which for the two earliest Horatian imitations, the two Donne imitations, and the two dialogues<sup>39</sup> follows that of 1740 but

<sup>36</sup> These are: In Group T, Epistle I, i, l. 90: *But Bug and D<sup>l</sup>, their Honours for Bestia and Bug, their Honours of the folio and quarto texts, and for But wretched Bug, his Honour of No. 507x and succeeding editions*; l. 117: *come for comes of all other editions*. In Group U, Epistle II, i ("Advertisement"), l. 7: *of those which for such, as of the folio and quarto texts and for of those Virtues which of No. 507x ff.*; l. 311: *Ever for Farce, long of the folio and quarto texts and for Farce once of No. 507x ff.*; Ode, IV, i, l. 10: *Murray for M<sup>yy</sup> of all other editions*. In Group V, Epistle I, vii, l. 14: *W\* and H\*\* for P—x and P\*\** (this epistle had no folio or quarto printing: the readings given second are those of No. 507x and all later editions); l. 38: *ye for you*; l. 34: *give for gave*; l. 47: *Summer for Summer's*. In l. 34 I think *give* is the form intended, and I have a copy of the 1740 edition (No. 524) which continues this reading. I have another copy, however, reading *gave*. The leaf is of the same printing in both copies, and hence the correction was doubtless made at press. The only copy I have of the 1743 edition (No. 584) reads *gave*.

<sup>37</sup> The revisions of the quarto text of the two dialogues (No. 504) require discussion here, since this text seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. Butt. They are so extensive, however, that rather than list them I shall try to enable the reader to discover them by consulting Mr. Butt's textual apparatus. This can be done if the reader bears in mind that all the revisions in Mr. Butt's text were first introduced by the quarto printing, with the exception of the following:

Dialogue I: L. 16: *Sutton*, spelled out in full, appears only in No. 507x. The folio has *S—n*, the quarto and all other editions *Su—n*. The allusion to Sutton was first replaced by the word *Bishops* in Warburton's edition. Pope authorized the change at Warburton's request. Ll. 67, 68: *Favonio's for Ty—l's and Bubo*, and for *Bub-ton* originates with No. 524. L. 87: Warburton is alone in having *knows for know* of all other editions. L. 100: *breaks for break and stirs for stir* appear only in No. 507x. These are not noted by Mr.

in mind the revisions introduced by the genuine No. 507, which I have listed above in nn. 12 and 14 and below in nn. 38 and 39.

<sup>38</sup> Horatian Satires, II, i and ii; Donne Satires, II and IV. These pieces are not contained in Nos. 507 and 507x, and hence the growth of the text may be ascertained in Butt's edition.

<sup>39</sup> A description of No. 524 may be found in Griffiths. Leaves B<sup>2-3</sup> and sheets C—H<sup>5</sup>, I<sup>4</sup>, are from No. 507x; and all the rest of the book is newly printed. No. 524x, on the other hand, collates as follows: A<sup>1b2</sup> + Groups T, U, and V of No. 507 + K—M<sup>3</sup>, N<sup>2</sup>. Sheets A<sup>1b2</sup> and K—M<sup>3</sup>, N<sup>2</sup> are the newly printed sheets that No. 524x shares with No. 524.

I have seen only one copy of No. 524x—in the British Museum, shelf mark 686.d.19.



for all the other pieces follows that of 1738. And finally, one or two very special typographical peculiarities point to the conclusion that Warburton's printer is actually setting copy from No. 524x.<sup>40</sup>

If this is, indeed, the case, one must wonder whether there are any longer grounds for accepting the authority of Warburton's text of these Horatian pieces. To be sure, it is possible that at some time before his death Pope expressed a desire to return to the eclectic text of No. 524x. But this seems less than plausible. Warburton, it will be remembered, says little except by implication in favor of the superiority of his volume containing the imitations, and there is no reason to believe that it was not Pope himself who caused the text of No. 524 rather than that of No. 524x to be reprinted in the final edition of 1743. One suspects, therefore, that War-

burton hit on his text by accident, not design; that he may have known, or remembered Pope's saying, that the edition of 1740 was the last he had corrected, and sought out, perhaps even in an effort to be scrupulous, a copy of this "best" edition without discovering that it had been issued in two forms.<sup>41</sup> At any rate, whether Warburton actually obtained his text in this way or in some other, it is important for future editors to observe that none of his significant variants was new in 1751<sup>42</sup> but had in every case been published by the poet himself in 1738 and 1740.

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<sup>40</sup> It is always possible, of course, that Warburton drew copy from No. 524 for the six pieces which he prints with a 1740 text and turned for the rest of his texts to a copy of No. 507. I find it easier to believe, however, that he set up all his texts from the book; and, if he did so, this book had to be No. 524x. When Warburton did have to turn to another book—for his text of *Donne III*, which was not retained in the 1740 editions—he seems to have chosen No. 507, for in l. 126, he gives the unrevised reading (see above, n. 19). I doubt whether Warburton knew of the existence of No. 507x.

<sup>41</sup> Revisions peculiar to Warburton's texts of the imitations are few and trifling. The only readings in his edition that his printer would not have found in No. 524x are easily explained on other grounds. The removal of the allusion to Sutton has already been mentioned above, n. 40. In *Dialogue II*, l. 69, Warburton spells *Craggs* where No. 524x spells *Cragg*, but this is probably a simple normalization by either printer or editor. The same seems to me to be the explanation of *Murray* in *Epistle II*, ii, l. 132, which Warburton is alone in spelling out. *The* for *a* of all other editions in l. 54 of *Satire II*, vi, is clearly an editorial liberty taken by Warburton, if it is not a printer's change. The spelling *ye* for *you* of other editions in l. 81 of *Epistle I*, vii, looks like Warburton's attempt to purify the rhyme, a change he doubtless felt was warranted by Pope's own use of *ye* in l. 33 (see n. 38). As for the spelling *Stocken* in *Epistle I*, l. 1, l. 148, which Warburton prefers to the normal spelling of all other editions, I suspect that this was intended to distinguish a certain rusticity of flavor in both the word and the custom which it describes. The only other reading peculiar to Warburton is *hold* for *holds* in l. 132 of *Parnell's* imitation of *Donne*, which may be a misprint or a misinterpretation of the sense.

There is beginning to be plenty of evidence that Warburton would not have blinked an eyelash at making, on his own authority, such minor revisions as these. See, for instance, the entertaining comment by Professor Griffith in "Early Warburton? or later Warburton?" *University of Texas studies in English*, No. 40.

Butt. l. 112: *Sister* for *Mother* was first introduced in No. 507. l. 134: *Landaffe* for *L—d—fe* first appears in No. 507x. l. 170: In the quarto and in No. 507 this line is both italicized and placed between inverted commas; in all other editions there are only inverted commas.

*Dialogue II*: l. 1 and 141: *Paxton* for *P—xt—n* enters with No. 507x. l. 20: *Sister* for *Mother* enters with No. 507x. l. 25: Only No. 507 has a misprint *stop* for *stoop*. l. 38: *Realm* for *Land* enters with No. 524. l. 69: The spelling *Craggs* instead of *Cragg* is found only in No. 507x and No. 584. l. 158–59: *when had* for *what has* originates with No. 524, as does the total revision of l. 159. l. 161: No. 507x is the only edition in which this line is not italicized. In the quarto it is given both italics and brackets.

<sup>42</sup> In l. 26 of *Epistle II*, i, beside the word *Fame* No. 524x has an asterisk, which refers to a similar asterisk in the Latin lines given at the bottom of the page. No other edition has these asterisks except Warburton's. (The asterisk is present, of course, in No. 507, from which this part of the sheets in No. 524x was derived.) A second instance is found in *Epistle I*, i, l. 173. There, beside the name *Hales*, occurs another asterisk, referring the reader to a note at the bottom of the page which identifies *Hales* as "The Doctor of Bedlam." In No. 524x and nowhere else (excepting again No. 507), the asterisk is present without the note. Warburton's edition, though it corrects the name to *Hale*, omits both note and asterisk. The note being Pope's, it seems unlikely it would have been omitted by Warburton unless, as I think, his printer was setting copy from No. 524x and, seeing no reference for the asterisk, struck it out.

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## GERARD'S ESSAY ON TASTE

MARJORIE GRENE

GERARD'S *Essay on taste* (1759) combines, without entirely fusing, at least two divergent currents of aesthetic thought. By such partial combination the work exhibits a striking tension between a psychological theory of taste and standards apparently established on the basis of that theory, yet incompatible with it. It is the purpose of this paper to restate and, if possible, to resolve the tension thus established—the tension, in other words, between Gerard's theory of the internal senses and his standard of aesthetic correctness.

### I. THE THEORY OF TASTE AS AN INTERNAL SENSE

Gerard takes from Hutcheson the theory of an internal or reflex sense as the basis for taste.<sup>1</sup> Taste is said to be a kind of perception, internal in that its immediate objects are other sensations or images rather than external things and reflex in that it springs from other sensitive or imaginative processes as they occur. Taste depends for its origin on the perception of external objects; it is they which appear beautiful, harmonious, etc. But it is a perception of the perception of such objects, in contrast to the direct perception of them by the external sense. It may seem odd, Gerard admits, to classify as a sense a power not original but derived—i.e., dependent for its origin on external sensation and on certain operations

of the imagination.<sup>2</sup> Both for Hutcheson and for Gerard, however, originality in the sense of irreducibility to other principles is not a necessary characteristic of a sense. "The obvious phaenomena of a sense," for Gerard, are the following:

It is a power, which supplies us with such *simple* perceptions, as cannot be conveyed by any other channel to those who are destitute of that sense. It is a power which receives its perception *immediately*, as soon as its object is exhibited, previous to any reason concerning the qualities of the object, or the causes of the perceptions. It is a power which exerts itself *independent of volition*, so that, while we remain in proper circumstances, we cannot, by any act of the will, prevent our receiving certain sensations, nor alter them at pleasure, nor can we, by any means, procure these sensations, as long as we are not in the proper situation for receiving them by their peculiar organ.<sup>3</sup>

For Hutcheson, likewise, the characterizing qualities of a sense are immediacy and necessity (independence of will);<sup>4</sup> and these criteria, as well as that of simplicity, are satisfactorily complied with by the sense of beauty, harmony, etc., that goes by the name of "taste."

The simple feeling characteristic of this internal sense is apparently one of pleasure. Gerard does not, indeed, explicitly identify taste with a sensation of pleasure. His master, Hutcheson, does so, however, when he calls the internal sense a class of "Determinations to be pleased

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Gerard, *An essay on taste* (London, 1759), introd., p. 1 and n. a. Cf. Francis Hutcheson, *An inquiry into the original of our ideas of beauty and virtue*, First Treatise, Sec. I, Art. IX. For Hutcheson's later usage (reflex or subsequent senses distinguished from internal sense) cf. *A short introduction to moral philosophy*, Book I, chap. 1, secs. 3, 4, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Gerard, Part III, Sec. I; and Part II, Sec. III p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Part III, Sec. I, p. 161 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Inquiry*, First Treatise, Sec. I, Arts. XII, XIII; cf. introd. and *Essay on the nature and conduct of the passions and affections*, Sec. I, Art. I.

with certain complex Forms."<sup>5</sup> And Gerard's constant references to pleasantness and agreeableness as criteria for the various qualities constituting objects of taste make it clear that he fails to state the equation simply because he takes it for granted. Certainly, he makes no distinction, as does Crousaz, for example, between the beautiful and that which pleases. Beauty, on the contrary, is reduced to certain qualities which, by the laws of human nature, invariably please. "Beautiful forms have uniformity, variety, and proportion; but the pleasure they give is an immediate sensation, prior to our analyzing them, or discovering by reason that they have these qualities."<sup>6</sup> And it is the perception of that pleasure which constitutes the sense or taste of beauty.<sup>7</sup> The case is similar for other constituents of taste. "We have," for example, "a natural sense, which is highly gratified by a designed resemblance."<sup>8</sup> In fact, not only is taste in all its branches "the immediate source of pleasures,"<sup>9</sup> it is the power of perceiving those pleasures that seems, by constant equation, to form the very essence of taste. Even judgment, moreover, contributes to taste by enhancing such pleasures.<sup>10</sup> And, similarly, criticism, the mirror of taste, "investigates those qualities in its objects, which, from the invariable principles of human nature, must always please or displease."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Inquiry*, introd. (5th ed.), p. xi.

<sup>6</sup> Gerard, Part III, Sec. I, p. 162.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Part I, Sec. III, p. 45: "We may . . . apply this epithet to every pleasure which is conveyed by the eye, and which has not got a proper and peculiar name."

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. IV, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Part III, Sec. V, p. 192.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Part II, Sec. II, p. 91: "Judgment finds out the general characters of each art, and by comparing them, draws certain conclusions concerning the relations, which subsist between different arts. Till it has discovered these, none of them can acquire that additional power of pleasing, which is imparted to them by their reciprocal connection."

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Part III, Sec. III, p. 186.

Moreover, if one looks for the cause of the pleasant sensations of taste, one may discover a principal cause in the tendency of the mind to conform itself to objects presented to it. The sense of heightened activity, expansion, or power often involved in such a process evidently accounts for many, if not most, of the pleasures of taste. Gerard formulates this principle in the section on Imagination:

When an object is presented to any of our senses, the mind conforms itself to its nature and appearance, feels an emotion, and is put in a frame suitable and analogous; of which we have a perception by consciousness or reflection. Thus difficulty produces a consciousness of a grateful exertion of energy: facility of an even and regular flow of spirits: excellence, perfection, or sublimity, begets an enlargement of mind and conscious pride; deficiency or imperfection, a depression of soul, and painful humility. This adapting of the mind to its present object is the *immediate* cause of many of the pleasures and pains of taste; and, by its consequences, it augments or diminishes many others.<sup>12</sup>

As Gerard suggests, moreover, variations on this central theme have been prominent in the foregoing discussions. The pleasures of novelty and sublimity, for example, have been thus accounted for.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, it is by the operation of this law that music enhances the beauty of poetry—since "by exciting the requisite affections" it "puts the mind in a disposition to conceive ideas suited to them with peculiar facility, vivacity, and pleasure."<sup>14</sup> Or, again, "facility in the conception of an object, if it is moderate, gives us pleasure: the mind thinks well of itself, when it is able to form its conception without pain or labour."<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, variety like-

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. I, p. 162.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Part I, Sec. I, p. 3; Sec. II, p. 14; cf. also p. 16; even when extension, the usual external mark of the sublime, is absent, a similar feeling may be produced if only a similar activity be engendered.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II, Sec. I, p. 83.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Part I, Sec. III, p. 31.

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*  
<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*  
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<sup>19</sup> Gerard

<sup>20</sup> Cf.

<sup>21</sup> Inquiry

wise pleases, since the transition from one idea to another "puts the mind in action, and gives it employment, the consciousness of which is agreeable."<sup>16</sup> In general, therefore, "the pleasure we receive from beautiful forms is resolvable into the pleasure of facility and that of moderate exertion."<sup>17</sup>

The causes of the various pleasures of taste are thus reducible, in the main, to one central principle. Taste itself, however, is not thereby unified—any more than its immediate sensuous character is destroyed by a knowledge of its derivation. Taste is, in fact, resolvable into a number of simple senses: the senses, namely, of novelty, sublimity, imitation, beauty, harmony, wit and ridicule, and virtue.<sup>18</sup> Beauty is further divided into beauty of figure, color, and fitness.<sup>19</sup> The characters producing beauty of figure—variety, uniformity, and proportion—are identical with those producing harmony, or beauty of sound.<sup>20</sup> Hutcheson, agreeing in this identification, identifies the two senses themselves.<sup>21</sup> Gerard, however, apparently considers the feelings of pleasure conveyed by eye and ear too divergent to warrant such an equation. Despite the identity of the qualities producing beauty or harmony in an object, he maintains the distinction between the corresponding senses. The term "beauty" is therefore applied "to every pleasure which is con-

veyed by the eye," while "harmony" denotes the pleasant perceptions of sound.<sup>22</sup>

## II. TASTE AND TRUE TASTE

The outlines of this psychological theory are clear. The question, then, is: If by taste we mean simply a pleasant feeling in response to certain qualities, how can there be such a phenomenon as false taste? How can one speak of a standard of correct taste to which one can aspire, from which one can deviate? The difficulty is analogous to that encountered, when it comes to accounting for error, by a theory which makes knowledge a matter of immediate acquaintance. If beauty is simply whatever pleases, then what pleases is beautiful. How can there be a question of something which ought to please but does not or which pleases but ought not to?

Yet Gerard often does speak in such normative terms. We are told, for example, that a predominance of cheerful or gloomy passions

is frequently destructive of true taste. . . . Our gratification must in every case be balanced against disgust; beauties against blemishes; before we have compared and measured them, we can form no judgment of the work. For want of the quickness and compass of thought, requisite for this, or of inclination to employ it, we often err in our decisions.<sup>23</sup>

False refinement is an example of deviation from "true taste":

True taste penetrates into all the qualities of its objects, and is warmly affected with whatever it perceives. Its mimic, false refinement, fearful lest anything should escape its notice, imagines qualities, which have no existence, and is extravagantly touched with the chimeras of its own creation.<sup>24</sup>

But if it is touched and if taste is that feeling of being touched with pleasure by

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Part III, Sec. I, p. 162; cf. also Part I, Sec. III, p. 41, on the beauty of fitness; Part I, Sec. III, p. 42, on the beauty of colors; Part I, Sec. IV, p. 49, on activity and the taste of imitation in general; Part I, Sec. IV, p. 54, on the emotions produced in tragedy.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Part I, Secs. I-VII. The division is somewhat different in Hutcheson's *Inquiry*. The senses of novelty and sublimity are dismissed (with a reference to *Spectator*, No. 412) as beyond the scope of the treatise. The moral sense is treated as separate from the internal sense or sense of beauty. The sense of imitation is called a sense of relative as opposed to absolute beauty.

<sup>19</sup> Gerard, Part I, Sec. III.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Sec. V, pp. 62-63.

<sup>21</sup> *Inquiry*, First Treatise, Sec. I, Art. XVI.

<sup>22</sup> Gerard, Part I, Sec. III, p. 45.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II, Sec. VII, p. 152; cf. p. 153.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. V, p. 132.

objects whether of sense or of imagination, how can it be said to err? Again, with regard to the sense of novelty, Gerard remarks:

When genuine elegance in furniture or architecture has been long the fashion, men sometimes grow weary of it, and imitate the Chinese, or revive the Gothic taste, merely for the pleasure they receive from what is unlike to those things, which they have been accustomed to see. The pleasure of novelty is, in this case, preferred to that which results from real beauty.<sup>25</sup>

But, if the sense of novelty is one of the actual ingredients of taste, how can what satisfies that sense be said to deviate from "genuine elegance" or be contrasted, as only apparent, to beauty as "real"? Or what is meant by this comment?

The ancient *Greek*, or the modern *Italian* painters will always be preferable to the *Flemish*, who, though they imitate *well*, do not make a judicious *choice* of such beauties of nature as deserve to be imitated.<sup>26</sup>

By what standard do we distinguish, among all the objects that gratify the taste of imitation, those which "deserve to be imitated"? Gerard gives no explicit answer to these questions; but several are implicit in his analysis of taste and its improvement.<sup>27</sup>

1. There is the possibility, first of all, that one might account for correctness and incorrectness in the "sense" of taste by analogy with the external senses. If taste is a sense, governed by the general laws of sensation, why not explain errors of taste by principles like those which account for error in vision, hearing, etc.? Errors of sense, however, are, strictly speaking, not errors in sense itself but in judging the cause of sense perceptions. And

that is just the trouble here. Perception, since it is immediate, is not correct or incorrect. Nor can taste as an immediate and simple feeling of pleasure be said to err. And if it is true, moreover, that certain—and only certain—qualities in objects invariably produce that agreeable sensation, then where there is such a sensation there must be such qualities. Consistently with this generalization, Hutcheson asserts that "the simple Ideas raised in different Persons by the same Object, are probably some way different, when they disagree in their Approbation or Dislike."<sup>28</sup> But in such a situation neither person can be said to perceive incorrectly. It is a simple case of difference, not of error.

2. But perhaps, retaining our analogy of external to internal sense, we may find another means of accounting, within the theory of internal sense, for error in taste—and hence for standards from which such error deviates. Certainly, there are degrees of keenness of perception in the external senses, and, similarly, there may be degrees of keenness in the perceptions of the internal sense. Perhaps this gives us our criterion. The organ of taste differs among individuals, Gerard admits, both in native sharpness and in the degree to which nurture has improved it.<sup>29</sup> Such differences of native endowment and of education account for the degrees of fineness of taste which Gerard distinguishes by the criteria of "sensibility" and "refinement." Sensibility, or intensity of feeling in matters of taste, is chiefly determined by variations in the native constitution of the internal sense;<sup>30</sup> whereas refinement, i.e., responsiveness to subtler qualities, varies

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Part I, Sec. I, p. 7.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. IV, p. 52.

<sup>27</sup> The problem becomes especially crucial, of course, in the discussion of correctness.

<sup>28</sup> *Inquiry*, First Treatise, Sec. I, Art. VII.

<sup>29</sup> Part II, Sec. III, pp. 99 and 101; Part III, Sec. V, p. 192; Part II, Sec. II, p. 85: "This enlargement of taste," etc.; Sec. III, p. 110.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II, Sec. IV, p. 106.

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>33</sup> First

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

chiefly with training.<sup>31</sup> By both these criteria, however, it is primarily degree of keenness (or elegance) of taste that is tested. For sensibility, as well as refinement, it would seem at first sight that "none are pleased but with some degree of real excellence or beauty."<sup>32</sup> Some feel less intensely or perceive less delicately, but all who perceive beauty really do perceive it. Such differences of degree present no philosophical problem. It is, in fact, by a similar device that Hutcheson (in the *Inquiry*) accounts for variations in taste. No person, he holds, was ever entirely devoid of the sense of beauty in the simpler instances.<sup>33</sup> Something like error arises, however, from our supposing that the most intensely agreeable sensation of beauty we have felt thus far is the highest degree possible. When we feel pleasure from beautiful objects, there must be beauty there—since beauty is defined as the occasion of such pleasure; but we may be wrong in assuming that we could not from some other object derive even greater pleasure. The "error" is in the additional notion that *this* particular object is more pleasing than others now unperceived; the pleasure itself—and hence the beauty—is genuine.<sup>34</sup>

In so far, then, as the improvement of taste is a matter of degree of fineness of perception, the difference of fine from coarse, or developed from undeveloped, taste presents no problem. It is clear, however, that Gerard means to differentiate not only fine from gross but true from false taste. There are evidently perceptions of taste which not only lack subtlety or acuteness but are in themselves incorrect or false. Such predications of falsity are too intimately interwoven into

the discussions at least of the second and third parts of his work to be removed as extraneous to the main thread of the essay. Take the following passage from the section on improvement of taste:

"Tis easy to trace the progress of taste in ourselves or others. Children discover the rudiments of it. They are passionately fond of every novelty; pleased with order and regularity in such simple instances as they can comprehend; delighted with a glow of colours; admirers of every form which they think august: they perceive often to a surprising degree the harmony of sounds; are charmed with an appearance of ingenuity in their diversions; prone to imitate, and gratified by every effect of imitation which they are capable of observing: they are very quick in discerning oddity, and highly entertained with the discovery of it; and will hardly ever fail of passing a right judgment concerning characters, when these characters are exerted in a series of actions level to their understandings. But a small degree of excellence satisfies them; a false semblance of it is easily imposed on them for the true; any disguise misleads them. The daubing of a sign-post, the improbable tales of nurses, the unnatural adventures of chivalry, the harsh numbers of *Grub-Street* rhyme, the grating notes of a strolling fiddler, the coarsest buffoonery, are sufficient to delight them. In some, for want of exercise and culture, the same grossness and contraction of taste continues always, or it is applied in a low, perverse, or whimsical manner. They may despise a relish for *childish* trifles; but themselves enter into *important* subjects, with as little relish as the merest children; or are perhaps delighted with *other trifles*, a very little different or superior in kind. Of dress or equipage, of the beauties of a tulip, of a shell, or a butterfly, they are accurate judges and high admirers. But the sublimity of nature, the ingenuity of art, the grace of painting, the charms of genuine poetry, the simplicity of pastoral, the boldness of the ode, the affecting incidents of tragedy, the just representation of comedy; these are subjects of which they understand nothing, of which they can form no judgement. Many

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. V, pp. 118, 126.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>33</sup> *First Treatise*, Sec. VI, Art. IV.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Art. V.



who pretend to judge, having pursued a wrong track of study, or fixed an erroneous standard of merit, betray an uninformed, fantastical, or perverted relish. It is only in the few, who improve the rudiments of taste which *nature* has implanted, by *culture* well chosen, and judiciously applied, that taste at length appears in elegant form and just proportions.<sup>35</sup>

Not only does a small degree of excellence satisfy the unimproved taste; but a "false semblance" may be imposed for the true. Taste may be not only gross but contracted, applied not only in a low, but in a perverse, manner. Many fix an erroneous standard, betray a perverted relish—in contrast to the few in whom taste appears, not only in a higher degree of refinement or elegance but in just, as opposed to unjust or perverse, proportions.

Even in respect to sensibility and refinement there seems to be a possibility of actual falsity as opposed to difference in degree. A lack of sensibility, indeed, "does not constitute so much one species of *wrong taste*, as a total *deficiency* or great *weakness* of taste." But the excess of sensibility which makes us "extravagant both in liking and disliking, in commending and blaming" proceeds actually "from a defect in the other requisites of fine taste"; so that it might be contended that wrongness as opposed to mere weakness of taste is possible here.<sup>36</sup> With regard to refinement, moreover, the possibility of positive falsity is clearly stated. As we noticed above, there is a mimic of true taste—false refinement—which depends on ignorance of real excellence and the substitution of perverted for correct standards:

We know not in what real excellence consists; we therefore fix some partial or whimsical standard, and judging by it, run into false elegance, and capricious nicety.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Gerard, Part II, Sec. III, pp. 102-4.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. IV, p. 113.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. V, p. 132.

If taste admits of falsity with regard to sensibility and refinement, however, so much the more does it permit of perversion as opposed to mere dullness in respect to the criterion of correctness:

Sensibility disposes us to be strongly affected with whatever beauties or faults we perceive. Refinement makes us capable of discovering both, even when they are not obvious. Correctness must be superadded, that we may not be imposed upon by false appearances; that we may neither approve shining faults, nor condemn chaste virtues; but be able to assign to every quality its due proportion of merit or demerit. Correctness of taste preserves us from approving or disapproving any objects, but such as possess the qualities, which render them really laudable or blameable; and enables us to distinguish those qualities with accuracy from others, however similar, and to see through the most artful disguise that can be thrown upon them. Though we never approve, or disapprove, when those characters, which are the natural grounds of either, are *known* to be wanting; yet we often embrace a cloud for *Juno*, we mistake the semblance for the substance, and, in imagination attribute characters to objects, to which they do not *in fact* belong. And then, though merely *fictitious*, they have as *real* an effect upon our sentiments, as if they were genuine: just as the chimerical connection between spirits and darkness, which *prejudice* has established in some, produces as great terror, as if they were in *nature* constantly conjoined.<sup>38</sup>

But, again, if the effect on our sentiments is real and if the very essence of taste is the power of being agreeably affected by such qualities as do affect agreeably, in what respect can taste here be said to err? Taste is defined, in the internal-sense theory, in terms of semblances, not substances. On the basis of that theory, taste may be found dull or excessive in some individuals as compared with others; branches of it may even be found to be entirely wanting in some. But it is difficult

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. VI, pp. 134-35.

to understand how such perceptions of beauty, harmony, etc., as actually do occur can, in their role of simple and uncompounded feelings, be called erroneous or perverse.

The problematic status of a standard of correctness on the internal-sense theory becomes even more striking by comparison with a theory which founds the notion of "good taste" on other psychological principles. J. P. de Crousaz, in his *Traité du beau*,<sup>39</sup> establishes a psychological foundation which renders the status of aesthetic standards quite unproblematic. His basic distinction is that between ideas and feelings; and, by means of this division, the beautiful and the pleasing are initially separated rather than identified: the beautiful as that which reason approves and the pleasing as that which satisfies sense.<sup>40</sup> It is, then, easy to explain, in terms of the interplay of ideas and feelings, the pleasure actually derived from beauty, as well as the pleasant feelings which arise when beauty is absent. In the first place, the correspondence between the mind's approval and the gratification of the affections is said to accord with the intentions of a benevolent Creator.<sup>41</sup> Consistently with the view that mind is independent of bodily modifications, the mechanism of this correspondence is explained, further, as an arbitrary adjustment by the Creator of the independent workings of mind and body.<sup>42</sup> Deviation from this agreement is then explained as a consequence of the Fall; and "good taste" arises, finally, from the re-establishment of the initial harmony.<sup>43</sup> On this theory, then, beauty is, first, that which is ap-

proved by mind, not sense; and good taste consists, further, in the correlation of the inferior (though independent) power of sense with the superior judgments of reason. In the internal-sense theory, on the other hand, the beautiful and its kin are initially defined as that which pleases, immediately and without the intrusion of reflective judgment; and taste is simply that class of senses whose province it is, directly and involuntarily, to feel such pleasure. For Crousaz the original separation of a rational idea of beauty from agreeable sentiment makes possible the establishment of norms of taste in terms of a relative harmony or discord between these two principles. It is the lack of such an initial divergence of beauty and pleasure, in contrast, that creates the problem for Gerard. If taste is identified at the outset with the simple power of being pleased by certain qualities in objects, then, in so far as we actually are pleased, our taste cannot be "wrong."

3. Yet, obviously, for Gerard taste *is* wrong—or right—as well as refined or dull. But the analogy to the external senses has failed to show in what manner such wrongness—or rightness—can arise. We must look—like Hume beating the neighboring fields—for some other device which Gerard might implicitly have been using to provide that taste, though a sense, could err. Let us consider, then, thirdly, whether taste becomes incorrect by the intrusion of some extraneous principle—such as the belief, mentioned by Hutcheson, that our present pleasures are the most intense to be anywhere obtained. Hutcheson himself suggests association as such a principle. Sometimes an object which would normally please has by association with a disagreeable idea itself become disagreeable; and taste is thus mistaken in that displeasure takes the place of a possible pleasure. Correction of

<sup>39</sup> Amsterdam, 1715. Gerard draws some remarks from Crousaz, although he does not adopt his basic principles.

<sup>40</sup> De Crousaz, chap. II, secs. 4 and 5.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. V, sec. 2, p. 64.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, secs. 3 and 5.

such "error" can be made by dissociation of the naturally pleasant object from the disagreeable idea to which it had been attached.<sup>44</sup> It is perhaps something like this intrusion of extraneous associative elements that is remarked by Gerard in the case in which, for want of judgments of our own, we accept authority in matters of taste.<sup>45</sup>

But this device likewise fails. For Gerard usually treats the functioning of association not as a corrupter of taste but as one of the main occasions for its activity and one of the principal causes for its extension. Many of the pleasures of sublimity are to be attributed to association.<sup>46</sup> The term "beauty" is applied to

every pleasure which is conveyed by the eye, and which has not got a proper and peculiar name; to the pleasure we receive, either when an object of sight suggests pleasant ideas of other senses; or when the ideas suggested are agreeable ones formed from the sensations of sight; or when both these circumstances concur.<sup>47</sup>

But "in all these cases, beauty is, at least in part, resolvable into association."<sup>48</sup> The beauty of colors, in particular, "is, in most instances, resolvable into association":

The verdure of the fields is delightful, not only by being inoffensive to the eye, but chiefly by its suggesting the pleasant idea of fertility. Heath in bloom would form a carpet agreeable enough to sight, if we could separate from its appearance the idea of the barrenness of the mountains and wilds it covers. In dress colours are either beautiful or the contrary, according to the nature of the idea which they lead us to form of the station, sentiments, and character of the wearer.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Hutcheson, *Inquiry*, First Treatise, Sec. VII, Art. IV.

<sup>45</sup> Part II, Sec. VI, pp. 142-43.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Part I, Sec. II, pp. 20, 23; cf. p. 30 (on meanness).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. III, p. 45.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

And the general discussion of imagination, finally, makes it clear that association has an important place among the "principles, from which the sentiments of taste arise."<sup>50</sup> Far from being an extraneous principle by the exclusion of which taste is corrected, association is an operation of fancy on which the expansion and improvement of taste to a great extent depends.

4. Association, then, is essential to, rather than destructive of, an improved taste. Perhaps, therefore, it is by the action rather than the exclusion of that principle that taste becomes correct or just. If, in other words, we cannot account for wrong taste by the introduction of association, we may account for right taste by considering the operation of that principle. There is, in fact, one particular kind of association which does seem to play an unusually important part in forming what Gerard calls "good taste." That is the association of certain objects of taste with passions praised or condemned on other grounds. Thus color in dress is approved by its connection with the station, character, etc., of the wearer.<sup>51</sup> The charm of music is chiefly dependent on its operation on the passions.<sup>52</sup> Poetry claims its superiority over other arts on the ground of its intimate connection with the most important or most interesting of the passions.<sup>53</sup> The inclusion of the moral sense among the simple powers of taste likewise indicates an intimate connection between the approving of beauties and of characters.<sup>54</sup> But it is to be noticed, on the other side, that the moral sense is only one among the powers of taste; and its perceptions could not well invalidate other

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, Part III, Sec. I, p. 171 and *passim*.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. p. 52 above.

<sup>52</sup> Gerard, Part I, Sec. V, p. 64.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. IV, pp. 57-58.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. VII, *passim*.

perceptions just as simple and immediate. True, what appeals to the moral sense of one might displease the sense of beauty in another; but, again, this would be diversity, not incorrectness, of perception. The discussion of the effect of taste on character, moreover, is among those sections concerned with "the more remote advantages of taste."<sup>55</sup> And Gerard here makes it very clear that taste and affection, as "effects of the same cause"<sup>56</sup> (as dependent, that is, on the operations of imagination), are, indeed, closely related but ultimately independent of each other. Although they may appear in intimate connection,<sup>57</sup> they may equally well vary in independence of each other. It is possible to discover "examples of a good taste joined with gross passions or a vicious character."<sup>58</sup> In discussing sensibility of heart, moreover, Gerard distinguishes his view from that of Du Bos by insisting (though this aspect is central in some kinds of music and poetry) that the effect of works of art on the affections is not their sole purpose.<sup>59</sup> Thus, although dramatic poetry and eloquence, for example, become faulty when not affecting, the whole meaning of correctness in taste can scarcely be said to consist in a salutary effect on the passions. We have here one element in Gerard's concept of good taste, but not the whole or perhaps even its central aspect.

It must be remembered, moreover, that the introduction of this principle involves an elevation of sensibility or the moral sense over the other ingredients of taste—

an elevation not justified by the internal-sense theory alone. "Good taste" in this respect must be carefully distinguished from taste good or bad, sharp or dull in itself. To account for such subordination of one branch of taste to another, or of taste to character, Hutcheson at one time suggests still another sense by which some senses are felt to be "higher" or "worthier" than others.<sup>60</sup> Gerard, stopping short of that suggestion, uses it implicitly by making "good taste" mean in part the class of instances of taste in which the other branches of the internal sense especially enhance the activity of the moral feeling.

And, again, it must also be remembered that this criterion of goodness is not the only one Gerard uses. Taste and affection are ultimately independent of each other, and either may flourish while the other declines. The passions alone, then, give us no satisfactory explanation of correctness or incorrectness of taste.

5. The internal-sense theory presents us with a number of simple powers as the constituents of taste. We have seen that the subordination of the other branches of taste to the moral sense serves partly to erect a standard of "good taste" as opposed to simple "taste." Profiting by this partial success, we may perhaps complete the standard by expanding the same procedure and considering in general the relation of all the branches of taste to one another. That is, indeed, what Gerard seems to be doing in his consideration of proportion as a criterion of good taste:

The last finishing and complete improvement of taste results from the due proportion of its several principles, and the regular adjustment of its sentiments, according to their genuine value, so that none of them may engross our minds, and render us insensible to the rest. . . . If our internal powers are disproportion-

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Part III, Sec. VI, p. 190.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207–8. In this context Gerard is showing that such examples do not prove total disconnection between taste and character; on the other hand, his use of the phrase does show that he is not identifying (even though he is not totally separating) good tastes and taste as productive of good character.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II, Sec. I, p. 87.

<sup>60</sup> *Essay*, Sec. I, Art. I, p. 6.

tioned to one another, or not duly subordinated in their conjunction, we may judge well enough of some parts, or of particular subjects, but our taste will be upon the whole distorted and irregular.<sup>61</sup>

Such disproportion, Gerard concludes, is "one of the most fertile causes of false taste; and one of the most common sources of that variety of forms and modifications which true taste assumes in different persons."<sup>62</sup>

But this merely sets rather than solves our problem. That there is variety in taste is certain; the question is from what standard those variations deviate. *What* proportion is it from which the prevailing passions of various characters cause their possessors to deviate? In reference to what criterion are such deviations false? Hutcheson, like Gerard, recognizes the multiplicity of tastes in correspondence to the multiplicity of beauties in nature or art.<sup>63</sup> Some are pleased with beauty in one form, some with another; or, in Gerard's terms, some of the simple powers of taste are in some individuals more developed, in others less so. But, again, it is not clear that such divergence constitutes error; for, taken merely as a class of senses, taste gives us no standard for elevating one proportion of its various constituents over others. One may say, indeed, as Gerard does at one point, that it would be desirable for one critic to unite all the branches of taste in a great degree.<sup>64</sup> That would be but to extend the criteria of refinement and sensibility over all the powers of taste and to take a survey of the degree of accuracy in the whole class. Thus we may take as a desideratum the principle that "all the internal senses must be equally exercised."<sup>65</sup> Taken as a standard of true

taste, however, even this simple principle raises problems, for, in the first place, this standard seems to contradict the previous subordination of other branches to the moral sense. And, what is more crucial, it is still difficult to see how an extension of an intensive criterion to several fields can render such perceptions as we actually do have false, any more than the application of such a criterion could account for falsity in a single department of the internal sense.

According as the sublime or the humble passions, the grave or the lively, are predominant in the structure of the soul, our relish will be keenest for the grand or the elegant, the serious or the ludicrous.<sup>66</sup>

Granted. But that fact is not sufficient to falsify such perceptions as we have. If a more equal proportion is the true standard, from which only corrupt taste deviates, it must be some source other than taste itself which supplies such a standard. Merely to say that proportion is needed is, again, to demand but not to furnish or to validate a standard.

6. Before we look further for such an extraneous principle, however, we may consider another possibility. Perhaps, without bringing in operations other than those of imagination, men of "good taste" conjure up a standard of most perfect beauty from which all other objects seem more or less to deviate. Some such explanation is suggested, for example, by the following passages:

Leonardo da Vinci is said to have conceived so high a standard of perfection, that, from despair of reaching it in the execution, he left many of his pictures unfinished. When imagination is inflamed and elevated by the perfection exhibited to it, it goes on of its own accord to fancy completer effects, than artists have found means actually to produce. . . .<sup>67</sup>

The ancient artists were so careful, that they were not content with imitating the most

<sup>61</sup> Gerard, Part II, Sec. VII, pp. 148-49.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>63</sup> Hutcheson, *System of moral philosophy*, Book I, chap. I, Sec. II.

<sup>64</sup> Gerard, Part II, Sec. VII, p. 156.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. V, pp. 124-25.



perfect *individuals* they could meet with, but, collecting the perfections of many, they formed one *general* idea more complete, than could be drawn from any single real existence.<sup>65</sup>

Such an imagined standard, however, is individual. It acquires universality, becomes "an exact standard of intrinsic excellence,"<sup>66</sup> only by the co-operation of some other principle which guarantees its excellence despite the possible variation in the perfections imagined by different individuals. The operation of some such norm beyond imagination is indicated, for example, in the procedure of the man of genius who, "possessed of so sublime a standard, endued with such exquisite refinement of taste, in whatever art he practises, will represent his objects, not merely as they are, but, like Sophocles, as they ought to be."<sup>70</sup> Such an "ought" neither the operations of imagination nor the perceptions of sense can furnish unassisted. This last resort, again, fails to provide an objective norm from which "false taste" can be said to deviate.

7. We are still faced, then, for all the hints we have so far tried to elicit from the text, with the discrepancy between Gerard's definition of taste as a sense—simple, immediate, and hence incapable of error—and his numerous remarks on false or true, correct or mistaken, taste. But there is another power of the mind which enters conspicuously into Gerard's analysis—now contrasted with taste, now counted as a constituent of taste in its improved and extended form. He introduces his discussion of the criteria of improvement in taste by the following summary:

Thus taste, like every other human excellence, is of a progressive nature; rising by various stages, from its seeds and elements to maturity; but, like delicate plants, liable to be checked in its growth and killed, or else to be-

come crooked and distorted, by negligence or improper management. Goodness of taste lies in its maturity and perfection.<sup>71</sup>

So far the internal sense alone, with its necessary causes—external sense and imagination—might be thought to be involved. But Gerard continues: "It consists in certain *excellences* of our original powers of judgment and imagination combined."<sup>72</sup> Taste in the generic sense is a class of powers of immediate feeling, depending on the operations of imagination and arising prior to reflection on the qualities of its objects. Evidently, for the production of the excellencies characterizing a perfect taste, however, judgment as well as imagination is involved. These excellencies, Gerard continues,

may be reduced to four, *sensibility, refinement, correctness*, and the *proportion or comparative adjustment of its separate principles*. All these must be in some considerable degree *united*, in order to form *true taste*. . . . This excellence of taste supposes not only *culture*, but *culture judiciously applied*. Want of taste unavoidably springs from *negligence*; false taste from *injudicious cultivation*.<sup>73</sup>

It is, then, the intrusion of judgment which makes possible the full conception of true taste and of its contrary—false taste. On the basis of the reflex-sense theory as Gerard or Hutcheson states it, it is only want of taste that can be explained. True as opposed to false taste is produced only when the element of judgment is introduced. Judgment enters, in fact, even in the development of refinement of taste—a characteristic which seemed to be satisfactorily accounted for on the basis of acuteness of the internal sense.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, it is in the decisions of judgment rather than in the perceptions of the internal sense that we err when the branches of

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Part I, Sec. IV, p. 52 n.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II, Sec. VI, p. 145.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. V, p. 125.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. III, p. 104.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. V, p. 121.

taste are said to be badly proportioned.<sup>75</sup> And correctness of taste is essentially a matter of judgment. It is judgment, not sense, that may mistake a cloud for Juno; it is judgment that distinguishes the kinds of perceptions of taste and thus "bestows precision and order on our sentiments."<sup>76</sup>

Now judgment is obviously a very different power from any sense, external or internal; and in introducing it into taste we evidently introduce a principle foreign to taste. It is clear from the following passage, for example, that Gerard intends no confusion of judgment with taste as the class of reflex senses:

Though the reflex senses and judgment meet, yet, in a consistence with true taste, they may be united in very different proportions. In some, the acuteness of the senses, in others, the accuracy of judgment is the predominant ingredient. Both will determine justly, but they are guided by different laws; the former, by the perception of sense, the latter by the conviction of the understanding. One *feels* what pleases or displeases; the other *knows* what ought to gratify or disgust.<sup>77</sup>

Here judgment and taste (or the internal sense) are distinctly separate. Yet in the very same passage Gerard refers to this duality not merely as a divergence between taste and judgment but as a "diversity in the form and constitution of taste."<sup>78</sup> Here judgment and the reflex senses, it would seem, are both ingredients of taste. But so far taste has been identified with the class of the reflex senses alone. Evidently, the denotation of the term has changed. From the taste or sense of beauty, harmony, etc., we have shifted to a new concept of taste, of which

taste in the perceptive sense forms only a part. Judgment, it turns out, is not an external principle operating on taste but an ingredient of it. Taste is therefore no longer mere taste—no longer simply the class of reflex senses, the taste of beauty, harmony, etc.—but a combination of taste (in the former meaning of the term) with judgment. And it is the taste thus formed that is *true* taste. In the passage quoted above, for instance, it is true taste in which the qualities of refinement, sensibility, etc., are to be combined. It is true taste, again (not simply taste), of which "good sense is an indispensable ingredient."<sup>79</sup> And it is true taste, as opposed to taste, which, including a reflective element, takes account of substance or semblance, real or counterfeit, in its objects. It is with reference to the concept of true taste, then, that we may call truth and justness "the foundation of every beauty in sentiment."<sup>80</sup> For true taste includes an ingredient of judgment. "And to ascertain truth, to unmask falsehood however artfully disguised, is the peculiar prerogative of judgment."<sup>81</sup>

### III. CONCLUSION

But what is this judgment? Can it declare lacking in beauty those qualities which the internal sense perceives as beautiful? Beauty, as well as taste, was defined in terms of an immediate awareness—and shall that term, too, shift its denotation without even a qualifying adjective to warn us of the transition? We started by examining the actual perceptions of the internal sense. We declared the objects of taste to consist of those qualities actually perceived as pleasant by all or most of mankind. Apart from agreeableness, then, what kind of "real excellence" have we left ourselves to which true, as opposed to false, taste conforms?

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. VII, p. 154.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. VI, p. 140; cf. also Part III, Sec. II, p. 179: "And soundness and strength of judgment," etc.; Part III, Sec. I, pp. 181-82: "Taste perceives the particular beauties," etc.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II, Sec. II, p. 96; cf. also Sec. IV, p. 115: "Socrates proves," etc.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. II, p. 97.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

What kind of beauty is it that judgment can contrast to actually pleasant objects not really beautiful? Taste was the power to relish whatever by the constitution of that sense we do relish. Can judgment now invalidate such actual pleasures and declare taste wrong?

Solely on the basis of the internal-sense theory, it cannot. On that theory alone, one can only assert with Hutcheson that all perception of beauty is really a perception of beauty. Degrees of fineness there may be in such perception; but not downright error. Gerard, however, although he takes the theory of the reflex senses bodily from Hutcheson, does not carry through his analysis in such close proximity to that theory as does Hutcheson. On the contrary, he derives many of his judgments from authors whose concern is more with criticism than with its philosophical basis. If one contrasts, for example, the *Inquiry* of Hutcheson and the *Traité du beau* of Crousaz, on the one hand, with the dialogues of Bouhours,<sup>82</sup> on the other, one is struck by the difference in the task set themselves by these authors. Hutcheson and Crousaz are endeavoring to establish a psychological setting for criticism. In Bouhours, even though he touches on such basic subjects as the mind-body problem, the philosophical setting is already given. Both the *Entretiens* and the *Manière de bien penser* are concerned with making value judgments on particular works and passages. Such evaluation takes place, however, within the framework of a set of critical ideas already well established. Ariste and Eugène, Eudoxe and Philanthe, are polite gentlemen well acquainted with the taste of their time and circle; and they are applying that taste, itself taken as foundation, to vari-

ous works of genius. Within any such well-defined framework of criticism, judgment enters to regulate taste. Would-be beauties are brought before the bar of standards already accepted; and those which fall short of the mark are called false. Now Hutcheson's psychological theory by itself admits no such predication of falsity; nor does Gerard introduce it with any emphasis in the first part of the *Essay*. But when he begins to treat of good taste (in contrast to taste) Gerard has concluded his general treatment of the natural basis of taste as such. He has now entered on a discussion of the beauties of nature and art from the point of view of a taste already developed to a certain degree—a taste fortified, moreover, by the judgments of a society of professionals in taste. To carry out to its logical conclusion the internal-sense basis, Gerard ought perhaps to introduce, as Hutcheson suggests, another set of senses perceptive of "higher" and "lower" levels of taste and to base his description of true taste on that additional sense. But whether or no some such additional device be introduced, it is important that the distinction between the two points of view be kept in mind. When he speaks of taste as an internal sense, Gerard is referring to the feeling of pleasure natural to all men when confronted with certain qualities in objects. When he speaks of the good taste or true taste or improved taste into which judgment enters, he is speaking of a more or less crystallized set of preferences serving as standard for a limited group of educated gentlemen.

As a matter of fact, a similar tension between taste as a universal endowment and taste as the property of a few is evident in the Abbé du Bos's treatment of the sentiment of beauty.<sup>83</sup> That senti-

<sup>82</sup> Dominique Bouhours, *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (Paris, 1748); *La Manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit* (Paris, 1735).

<sup>83</sup> *Reflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (Paris, 1719). Du Bos's "sentiment" is akin to, but not coextensive with, Gerard's taste.

ment is first declared to be common to all mankind: few are born without some degree of it. The judgments of the people are therefore eventually, if not at every moment, approximately correct. But the people, it turns out, are not all the people; they are only those with sufficient education and experience to appreciate the subtleties of the finest works of art and nature.

And one may hazard a guess, in conclusion, that, short of a resort to Crousaz's pre-established harmony, some such duality is indispensable. The actual preferences of a taste, however developed or undeveloped, whether propped by authority or inspired by a love of difference, will assert themselves in terms of correctness and incorrectness. An examination of the

broader basis of taste in human nature, on the other hand, reveals it as a set of simple feelings which can no more be "justified" than can the perceptions of the external senses in their character of simple givens.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Cf. Hutcheson on the moral sense (*Inquiry*, First Treatise, Sec. VII, Art. III): "This natural Determination to approve and admire, or hate and dislike Actions, is, no doubt, an occult quality. But is it any way more mysterious, that the Idea of an Action should raise Esteem or Contempt, than that the Motion of tearing of Flesh should give Pleasure or Pain; or the Act of Volition should move *Flesh* and *Bones*? In the latter Case, we have got the Brain, and elastic Fibres, and animal Spirits, and elastic Fluids, like the *Indian's* Elephant, and Tortoise, to bear the Burden of the Difficulty: but go one Step farther, and you find the whole as difficult as at first, and equally a Mystery with this Determination to love and approve, or condemn and despise Actions and Agents, without any Views of Interest, as they appear benevolent, or the contrary."

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Vita Sancti Malchi of Reginald of Canterbury.* Edited by LEVI ROBERT LIND. "Illinois studies in language and literature," Vol. XXVII, Nos. 3-4. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1942. Pp. 245.

One of the minor but not inconsiderable writers who followed the Conqueror into England was the Benedictine monk, Reginald, to be known later as Reginald of Canterbury. His most important work is now edited for the first time by Professor Lind of the University of Kansas. It is a religious epic, the *Vita Sancti Malchi*, written in 3,344 rhymed hexameters, a medieval adventure story based on the prose life of Malchus by Jerome. Reminiscent of the Greek romances with their hairbreadth escapes and of the plays of Terence with their happy endings, this account, like its source, has a moral purpose: it extols the monastic life to which Jerome betook himself when he fled Rome, and it praises the virtue of chastity, which should be preserved at all costs. Briefly, it recounts the adventures of Malchus, like Jerome a desert monk, who leaves his monastery to visit his parents, dwelling in a distant land. On the way he is captured by Saracens and forced to choose between death and marriage with Malcha, a Christian lady who has likewise been taken captive by the pagans and separated from her husband. At her suggestion they pretend to go through with the wedding but agree to live as brother and sister. After many trials they escape and are pursued by their master, who is disposed of by a lion endowed with enough discrimination to spare the Christians. Malchus and the lady take up their flight on the camels of their late proprietor and finally reach Maronia, Malchus' native heath, where they end their days in rural peace.

Professor Lind has done his task well. The text is set out with the usual critical apparatus, the relevant sections of Jerome's life being printed between the text and the commentary. The notes are full and honest: when the

editor cannot solve a difficulty, he says so, without adding further complications by offering wild and misleading conjectures. There are places where he is not satisfied with the results and places where others will not be satisfied with them; but anyone who inspects this edition will feel that Mr. Lind would have been ill advised to delay publication longer. Professor William A. Oldfather, one of the editors of the excellent series in which this text appears, watched over the work from the beginning and consequently deserves his meed of praise. Among the many commendable features of this edition may be noted the useful synopsis of the poem, an index of unusual words (of obvious help in the compilation of the new medieval Latin dictionary, in which Mr. Lind is actively interested), and a bibliography. The question might be raised why some of the items quoted are not in the bibliography, and upon what principle they were left out. It is, of course, true that many modern editions of early texts give no bibliography whatever; but, if one is to be included, it would seem well worth the space required to make it complete and save a reader from ploughing through pages of footnotes in fine print to run down a reference.

There are only two notes to which the present reviewer can add; and to these he cannot add much. Page 222 (Book V, l. 168), *ordine miro*: "In a manner quite marvelous." There is a parallel in the "Pange lingua" of Thomas Aquinas, l. 12: "[Christus] miro clausit [vitam suam] ordine." Page 220 (Book IV, l. 176): *domne* is noted as an unusual form of *domine*, and reference is made to its occurrence once earlier in the poem. It may be observed that *domnus* is met with frequently in medieval usage alongside of *dominus*, usually with a difference in meaning. Sometimes *domnus* was reserved for high dignitaries, such as bishops, abbots, or popes; sometimes for saints; sometimes for the kings of France in contrast to other kings. Another tradition, going back at



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least as far as Lactantius, prefers *dominus* for God while using *domnus* for an earthly dignitary (see Du Cange, *sub nomine*). This distinction is kept in modern liturgical books.

It was a happy decision to print the thumbnail sketch by Jerome at the foot of the page between the text and the *apparatus criticus*. In doing so, Mr. Lind was faced with a problem arising from the fact that Reginald did not keep to the same order of events which Jerome had followed. Mr. Lind could either print Jerome's text as it stood or excise the pertinent sections and print them in the proper places. He chose the latter alternative, with the resulting advantage that the particular source in Jerome is always before the reader as he goes through the text. The disadvantage is that the continuity of the story as told by Jerome is lost; and occasionally (not often) a bit of Jerome is missing—when there is no reason for Reginald's using him. The only place, so far as I have observed, where this plan has caused the omission of a noteworthy part of the text occurs near the beginning, where Jerome says that one reason for writing the life of Malchus was to get practice for writing his projected *Ecclesiastical history*. It is a pity not to have this bit for it contains one of Jerome's characteristically acid thrusts:

Scribere enim disposui (si tamen vitam Dominus dederit; et si vituperatores mei saltem fugientem me, et inclusum persequi desierint) ab adventu Salvatoris usque ad nostram aetatem, id est, ab apostolis, usque ad nostri temporis faecem, quomodo et per quos Christi Ecclesia nata sit; et postquam ad Christianos principes pervenerit, potentia quidem et divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor facta sit. Verum haec alias. Nunc quod imminet explicemus [Migne, *PL*, XXIII, 53C].

The only way the editor could have avoided this disadvantage would have been for him to print the consecutive text of Jerome in a supplement; and, since the entire life would have occupied only four or five pages, I for one am sorry that he did not do it.

Mr. Lind has given a clear and competent introduction, succinct yet sufficiently inclusive. The carping critic may note, to be sure, the misuse of "chaste" for "celibate" (p. 15)

and an occasional quaint form of address—"Rev. Hunt" (p. 10, n. 4), and "Messieurs Leo Kaiser and G. Steiner" (p. 233) for two gentlemen from Urbana, Illinois. But if this last has a touch of Old World courtesy, Mr. Lind redresses the balance by giving us a touch of psychology from the brave New World:

As an unconsciously vivid and thorough analysis of the psychological distortion apparent in connection with the monastic ideal of the Middle Ages, the *Vita Sancti Malchi* is noteworthy. The terrible repression, the pathological unbalance, which are to be found on another and higher plane in the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, form the central theme of his work. For the light it throws upon those particular human torments with which we are so familiar in religious literature from the time of St. Paul to that of Santa Teresa de Jesús it is invaluable . . . [pp. 18-19].

Alas for this dated Freudianism! Alas for the psychological insight that links the writings of Paul, Augustine, and Teresa with the windy melodrama of a medieval Bavius like Reginald! All four are indeed alike in that they deal with struggles of the spirit; but so, in this respect, are *Othello* and *East Lynne*. And surely Mr. Lind does not wish us to regard the theme of the story as based on a psychologically distorted attitude—the right of a man to refuse the hand of a lady who does not offer it, because, for one reason, she is already wed.

Fortunately, however, the question of the significance of the *Vita Sancti Malchi* has nothing to do with the matter of editing it. Mr. Lind has made available another document of the Middle Ages, and all students of the period will be grateful to him for his labors.

VINCENT J. FLYNN

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St. Paul, Minnesota

*The art of dying well: the development of the "Ars moriendi."* By SISTER MARY CATHERINE O'CONNOR. ("Columbia University studies in English," No. 136.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xiv + 258.

This excellent treatise surveys the origin, the editions, and the influence of a characteristic late medieval work. Perhaps the plagues of

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries caused men to think often of death and to feel a need for counsel about dying. However that may be, this time saw a great variety of treatises more or less directly associated with dying. These are surveyed hastily on pages 3-4 and are dealt with at somewhat greater length in Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, which is there cited. The chief emphasis lies on the sources, the time and place of origin, the possible authors, and the relation of the two chief versions. The results constitute a major advance in our knowledge of the *Ars moriendi*. Sister Mary Catherine turns up what seems to be almost all that we can hope to learn regarding the sources, makes an excellent case for the composition of the *Ars* at the Council of Constance, a good case for authorship by a Dominican, and a convincing case for the priority of the longer version. Previous study of the *Ars* had centered on the last point, and her novel conclusions, which run directly against all that had been believed before, are presented clearly and cogently. The body of the treatise consists of a list of manuscripts and editions. Although additions and further comment may be necessary here and there, these chapters create a safe basis for further study. The concluding chapter, which deals with the influence of the *Ars moriendi*, will awaken the most general interest and will be most generally useful. It is perforce the most cursory, for the author cannot undertake a comprehensive treatment of the idea of instruction in dying.

In a book which examines a subject of universal human import as it has been dealt with through the centuries there is naturally the opportunity or desire to make a note on the margin ever and again. I could have wished that the background of the *Ars* had been sketched a little more fully than it is on pages 3-4. The soul and body poems (p. 4), for example, reach far back of the tenth century, as our author well knows. A somewhat fuller characterization of typical varieties of this literature and a contrasting of them with the *Ars* would not have been difficult and would have interested most readers keenly. To the bibliography of general works on pertinent themes (pp. 220-41) I might add Stephan Kozáky,

*Anfänge der Darstellungen des Vergänglichkeitsproblems* (Budapest, 1936), which is the first of three volumes on the Dance of Death. The second volume, if it has appeared, would be even more useful than the first, which does not come to grips with matters directly connected with the *Ars*. I might also add that the extremely rare *Himmelische Fundgrube* by Johannes von Paltz mentioned on page 176 is now accessible in a recently acquired incunabulum owned by the University of California, Berkeley. It is interesting and instructive to note that the influence of the *Ars* can be traced, in Protestant England, well into the seventeenth century and that a few feeble echoes are heard in the eighteenth century. The obvious inferences need not be drawn here. Scholars should thank Sister Mary Catherine for a successful and attractively presented treatment of an important subject.

ARCHER TAYLOR

University of California, Berkeley

*The tragicall history of Christopher Marlowe.*

By JOHN BAKELESS. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942.

These two handsome volumes are an attempt to bring together in a single work all the available information about Marlowe and his writings. In view of the accumulation of studies on Marlowe in our century the effort is commendable. The most recent edition of Marlowe under the general editorship of R. H. Case has, to be sure, performed somewhat the same function, but the advantage of having the synthesis in the hands of one person and independent of the limitations imposed by a critical edition might outweigh the burden of some repetition. In any event, Bakeless' work is the most ambitious attempt so far at such a synthesis. It is a great storehouse of information winnowed from a wide field—the bibliography is very detailed and extensive—and it embodies with the work of many others Bakeless' own contributions to our knowledge of Marlowe.

The most prominent virtue of this work appears to be its completeness. In a practical enterprise, however, completeness cannot be

separated from a sense of proportion and even from the law of diminishing returns. What does the serious student of Marlowe wish to find in such a book? It is doubtful whether he needs printed in *extenso* every will, deposition, parish record, and what not relating to Marlowe's ancestors and relatives, as far back as the records can be carried, or long extracts from guild regulations, or a record of the apprentices of John Marlowe with conjectures whether one of them was related to John Umerfyld, smith, or Harman Umerfyld, tailor. Space might have been better devoted to printing in *extenso* such important biographical documents as Kyd's letters, Baines's accusations, and Greene's comments, allusions to which are frequent throughout the two volumes. In a much briefer account of the life of Marlowe, prefixed to his edition of *Dido*, Tucker Brooke was able to find room for full reproduction of such documents. Or consider such an important matter as the date of *Doctor Faustus*: no adequate summary is given of Boas' argument for assigning a late date to this play, so that it is necessary to go to his edition of the play to see what it is that Bakeless is rejecting; yet more than two pages are devoted to dates of performances of plays at Canterbury even though many of them are too early to justify the topic sentence, "In Canterbury, little Kit Marlowe was probably having even better opportunity [than Shakespeare at Stratford] to see the drama of his day" (I, 31). A lack of proportion seems to run through the book, with unnecessary amplification of detail at some points and insufficient detail at others.

What such an enterprise as this one primarily demands, however, in view of the many obscurities, moot points, and unsolved questions which confront the student of Marlowe's life and works, is judicious handling of evidence and care as well as imagination in drawing inferences and conclusions. It is one of the disappointing features of Bakeless' book that in these matters it does not always measure up to the demands of the subject. This defect is most readily illustrated from the handling of some of the important biographical problems. Bakeless makes it clear that he does not re-

gard any of the testimony of Baines, Kyd, or Greene as reliable. He regularly refers to Baines's report as "the Baines libel." He asserts that "as witnesses, both Baines and Kyd command very little confidence" (I, 113). He regards Baines as naive and literal minded (I, 110) and considers Kyd's testimony as the desperate act of a man under suspicion who thought "his own life more important than a dead man's reputation" (I, 185, 114). Greene he regards as a bitter and malicious enemy (I, 71, 124). Against this, he remarks that the "preponderance of Elizabethan comment is all in Marlowe's favor" (I, 186, 150), but he fails to note that the favorable opinions nearly all concern Marlowe's gifts as a poet and hence are not a rebuttal to the kind of unfavorable testimony left by others. If Bakeless' point means anything, it means that the three persons in question are unreliable and that nothing they say about Marlowe can be accepted, at least not without searching criticism and serious reservation. But, repeatedly, all three, and particularly Baines and Kyd, are used to establish matters of fact as though they had never been radically repudiated as witnesses. Baines's testimony is used, for example, to strengthen the links with Raleigh, because Baines refers to Marlowe's "enthusiasm for tobacco" (I, 128), and to help demonstrate an intellectual kinship with Machiavelli, because Marlowe, according to "the Baines libel," also ridicules Moses (I, 348). Bakeless is confident, too, that the impious views expressed with disapproval by Nashe in *Christ's teares over Jerusalem* glance at Marlowe, because "all of these are Marlowe's views" (I, 112). The "are" is significant, since about the only ground on which we can associate these views with Marlowe is that they resemble sentiments ascribed to him by Baines. Similarly with Kyd: Bakeless accepts Kyd's assertion that Marlowe was friendly with certain stationers at St. Paul's (I, 143, 162), and, even though he takes pains to qualify the lurid impression which Kyd gives of Marlowe, he nevertheless accepts Kyd's remarks about Marlowe's intemperateness, rashness, and cruelty of heart as supplementary evidence in the matter of the duel with Bradley (I, 99) and the quarrel which led

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to Marlowe's death (I, 155). Moreover, having decided to admit a piece of testimony, Bakeless is not always content to confine himself within its limits. Thus, in going over a list of Marlowe's associates, he asserts, on the strength of Kyd, that Marlowe was "on familiar terms . . . with an unnamed Lord" (I, 106). The passage from Kyd's letter on which this must be based is as follows: "My first acquaintance with this Marlowe, rose upon his bearing name to serve my Lord although his Lordship never knew his service, but in writing for his plaies, for never could my Lord endure his name, or sight, when he had heard of his conditions, nor would in deed the forme of devyne praier used duellie in his Lordships house, haue quadred with such reprobates." How can this testimony be construed to mean "on familiar terms"? Bakeless' curious way with evidence may be further illustrated in the matter of the possible friendship of Marlowe and Raleigh. Bakeless notes with candor that "there are only two bits of evidence definitely linking Raleigh and Marlowe" (I, 127), one of them being the possibility that Raleigh was the author of the reply to "The passionate shepherd." Bakeless quite properly does not push this line of argument; it is, in fact, too tenuous, and even Marlowe's authorship of the original lyric has been disputed. On another occasion, however, in dealing with Marlowe's lyric and its influence, he handles the problem of the authorship of "The nymph's reply" as follows: "The usual attribution of this poem to Sir Walter Raleigh rests entirely on Izaak Walton's assertion that it is his, and on Marlowe's known association with Raleigh" (II, 156). Surely this is juggling. We use a poem which may be Raleigh's to support the possibility that he knew Marlowe; then we assume the "known association" of the two as a fact in order to support Raleigh's authorship of the poem. Further, to strengthen the thesis that Marlowe could have seen the manuscript of *The faerie queene* before writing *Tamburlaine*, Bakeless notes that Spenser "dedicated the poem to Marlowe's friend Sir Walter Raleigh . . ." (I, 209). What is a doubtful possibility in one instance emerges as an established fact to support a further possibility in another.

Eventually the reader loses all sense of security.

Long and devoted study of Marlowe has apparently given Bakeless a particular view of the poet and his works which occasionally obstructs an unbiased view of the facts. The literary discussions reveal this tendency. Bakeless regularly underestimates the importance of Marlowe's contemporaries, especially Kyd, and is given to such expressions as "the point-less imitation of Seneca in *Gorboduc*, or the refined inanities of Lyly" (I, 243), and he calls *Tamburlaine* "a miracle of structure" (I, 243) for its day. He tends to exaggerate the influence of Marlowe on Shakespeare. Wherever it is possible to show the influence of Marlowe he seems uninterested in other hypotheses. For instance, he is impressed by the similarity between two of Mephistopheles' speeches on hell and three of Lucifer's, all expressing "the idea, common to both poets, that the individual soul can be its own hell" (I, 314); and, while he makes certain qualifications, the one obvious alternative to direct influence in this case—i.e., that both were reflecting a common theological tradition—he does not mention. More is involved than a specific point of influence: had Bakeless considered the alternative hypothesis, he would have attached a somewhat different significance than he now does to Mephistopheles' speech,

Why this is hell nor am I out of it:

Think'st thou that I who saw the face of God,  
And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,  
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells,  
In being deprived of everlasting bliss?

Bakeless comments: "At a stroke he discards all mere physical terrors in favor of a subtle and poetic ethical idea. One sees why this man was held unorthodox" (I, 288). The subtleties of this passage are as much theological as poetic, and the sentiments are not evidence of unorthodoxy, as the following passage from Aquinas shows: "The damned, before the judgment day, will see the blessed in glory, in such a way as to know, not what that glory is like, but only that they are in a state of glory that surpasses all thought. This will trouble them, both because they will, through envy, grieve for their happiness, and because

they have forfeited that glory" (*Summa theologiae*, Part III, Suppl., Q. 98, Art. 9). In general, the extensive reproduction of parallel passages intended to show influence is not one of the profitable features of the book. Many of them seem, at least to this reviewer, wholly unconvincing, but the closeness and importance of any set of parallels is a question that cannot obviously be discussed here at length. Where a similarity does exist, Bakeless is at times inclined to make too much of it. Cleopatra dying in state has a certain resemblance to Zabina calling for the accouterments of her former queenly state during the insane frenzy which precedes her suicide; but years had elapsed between the two plays, and Shakespeare had become his own master long since, and the similarity is small support for the impressive conclusion which rests on it: "Faint echoes, indeed, but echoes none the less. Shakespeare, who had learned so much from Marlowe, never quite forgot the touch of the vanished hand that had guided him as a raw and youthful beginner in the theatre" (II, 267).

One might speculate whether the rich rhetoric of the last comment is a device for forcing through a doubtful point, or whether the doubtful point could not be resisted because it offered occasion for the rhetoric. It is a serious question and one which troubles the reader on a number of occasions; for example, there is the conclusion of the chapter on Mar-

lowe's atheism: "Surely in that last scene of *Faustus* . . . there lingers at least an echo of the boyish faith of a meditative lad, wondering and growing up in the dim, religious atmosphere of ancient Canterbury, the first foothold of Christianity on English soil, the chief center of the Faith in England" (I, 140). All questions of literary taste aside, Bakeless is not fortunate in his rhetoric, and it sometimes seriously interferes with the chief aim of his book. The appropriateness of certain verbal beauties with which the book is dotted is another matter, and is open to question. It is unlikely, however, that anyone will relish such ornate and condescending substitutes for Shakespeare as "the tanner's son of Stratford," Marlowe's "pupil from Stratford," "talented young rustic," or "the great businessman from Stratford."

All this, it may be objected, leaves much unsaid about this work, and the objection is not wholly out of place. Nevertheless, the defects with which this review has been concerned are serious in their nature and run through the whole texture of the work and affect it in an essential way. It cannot be said that, barring these few matters, the book is a good one. Its weaknesses are such, unfortunately, as to make the book not wholly worthy of its aim, its subject, or the industry and devotion of its author.

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